# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-099
Wednesday
22 May 1991

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*FBIS-EEU-91-099* *22 May 1991*

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## Further Developments Reported in General Strike

### 50 Percent Pay Increase Approved

*AU2105094391 Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT 21 May 91*

[Communique issued by the Council of Ministers; place and date not given: "Wage and Price Reform"]

[Text] Tirana, May 21 (ATA)—During several day meetings the government has held after its open meeting with officials of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Albania and trade unions federations, with officials of the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Albania, views are exchanged and long debates are held concerning the requests forwarded to the Council of Ministers by various trade unions and steering commissions of strikes.

On May 20 afternoon, the Council of Ministers, after examining the study submitted by the Ministry of Economy on changes to the wage and price system, appreciating the suggestions of the trade unions, jumped at the following conclusions:

1. Starting with July 1, the wage fund of departments and state institutions augment by 50 per cent. Here are excluded the sectors that profited in this respect by the previous decisions of the Council of Ministers of this year. The working people will retain the wage increase beginning with the first fortnight of July and on. The pensions of all categories of the state sector will augment averagely by 50 per cent beginning with July. Likewise, special arrangement will be adopted for scholarships, etc.

2. For the application of the economic reform and the introduction of the elements of market economy, the increase of autonomy and self-activity of the enterprises, liberalization of prices should be done step by step in their whole system. In order to maintain the standard of living of the working people and to ensure the control on retail sale prices and tariffs of public services, the Council of Ministers will endorse and control the retail sale prices of a certain group of mass consumer goods. The adjustment of these prices will be compensated at full extent with the simultaneous rise of wages, pensions, scholarships, with special increases besides 50 per cent of its rise.

For some other important goods, the Ministry of Finance will fix and control the maximum limit of their price.

In order to approach also the level of the peasants' income with that of the workers of the agricultural enterprises, the Council of Ministers should fix higher purchasing prices for some key agricultural and livestock products, leaving it to the seller and consumer that in agreement set the prices of the other products, according to the offer and demand.

3. The Ministry of the Economy should define the new minimal wage obligatory on a country's scale in the state and private sector, relying on the aforesaid changes. The enterprises, in agreement with the trade unions will fix the wages according to the work places and categories in accordance with the increased fund of the wages defined by the institution.

4. The Ministry of the Economy should estimate the new fund of hewages [as received] for every institution to cope with the aforesaid changes.

5. The deposits of population in the saving banks should be assessed on July 30, 1991, in accordance with the impact of the increase of prices of the goods and services of vital importance.

6. The Council of Ministers will put forward to the People's Assembly within June 10, 1991 all the draft laws related to these changes in the system of wages, prices, social insurances etc.

### Strike Continues Despite Wage Increase

*AU2105154691*

[Editorial Report] Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT on 21 May devotes 18 minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to interviews and reports relating to the continuing general strike.

The announcer states: "The general strike of working people is continuing. The government's decision to increase wages by 50 percent has not swayed the strikers' determination to continue their strike."

A recorded Timo Luto interview with Valer Xheka, chairman of the Strike Management Committee, follows. Xheka states: "We do not consider the government's reply to be a response to our demands, because it is a draft study on wage increases and price liberalization. The government has planned such a study for a long time and is presenting it as if it met our demands." "We, therefore, believe that the government's decision fails to meet our primary demand for a 50-percent wage increase. We also have other important demands of an economic nature, such as increases in pensions, a six-hour working day and the abolition of the third shift for women, 100 percent instead of 80-percent pay for workers who are laid off because of raw materials shortages, paid holidays for religious festivals, and many, many other economic needs that were included in our legitimate demands presented to the government." Asked whether the strike is still spreading, Xheka states: "The strike is spreading hour by hour throughout the entire territory of Albania. Many enterprises that were not involved at first have joined our general strike in full solidarity, because they have understood our demands correctly." Asked whether there are any enterprises that have asked to return to work following the government's decision on wage increases, Xheka states: "The collectives have correctly understood the government's decision, and realize that it has nothing to do with improving working people's living standards. Not only has there been no request to end the strike, but there have on the contrary been requests from other collectives to join the strike." In conclusion, Xheka

states: "The government's decision that was broadcast yesterday evening and was approved by the Confederation and the Free Federations of Trade Unions is a decision that fails to consider workers' demands, and leaves room for further maneuvers on the part of the government in raising wages and liberalizing prizes. Under these circumstances, I declare that the working people of Albania have launched a general strike and are determined that every one of the demands submitted to the government on 9 April must be met by the Council of Ministers. Otherwise, the strike continues."

A recorded interview with Kastriot Muco, chairman of the Organizing Commission for the Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Muco describes the meeting of "representatives of the trade union federations and the Organizing Commission" with the Council of Ministers on 20 May, at which the trade union representatives "urged an 80 percent wage increase." "At the same time, we insisted that the demands of the Organizing Commission and the Federations of the Trade Unions of Working People of Albania should be seriously considered by the government, and that the 14 points of the demands submitted on 30 April should be examined one by one by Premier Fatos Nano. The Organizing Commission and the representatives of the Federations agreed to the communique and documents presented by the Council of Ministers for a 50 percent wage increase. At the same time, if there are to be changes in the prices of the most essential consumer goods, we insisted that working people's living standards should not be affected."

A recorded Aferdita Selimi interview with Finance Minister Anastas Angjeli follows. After outlining the government's measures, described in the referent item, Angjeli states: "All working people, wherever they are, must realize that such a decision is being made in a very difficult economic and financial situation. This decision is part of the economic reform and the transition to a market economy, but these problems of wages and prices, if they are to be solved, demand people's immediate and total commitment to their work, to secure production and to reactivate our economy, thus enabling us to cope with the difficulties facing us. I also wish to stress that the Ministry of Finance strictly control all expenditure, so it will be able to keep the state's financial situation in its hands as far as it can while prices and wages are liberalized." Angjeli also emphasizes that "The state cannot undertake to pay working people for the days they are on strike."

Reports on the effects of the strike in various districts follow. A telephone report from Permet states that "transportation has been paralyzed for days." "I would have reported on this before, but could not do so because of the lack of telephone contact." The transportation of bread and milk, however, is reported to be continuing.

A telephone report from Mirdite states that the Rubik copper miners are on strike for the sixth day, "because the Council of Ministers' decree does not lay down wages for difficult working conditions, or a retirement age." Miners in Spac are reported to have joined the strike today, demanding buses for their journeys to and from work. Although the transportation of food is continuing, "The production of bread in the towns is in danger because of the absence of flour supplies from Shkoder and Fushe Kruje."

A partly indistinct telephone report from Tropoje states "There is a shortage of such food as rice, sugar, oil, and flour in all the shops. Communication with other districts is thought to be totally interrupted."

An announcer-read report states that "As a result of the strike, the situation in Puke District has become very critical. All fuel supplies have been exhausted, thus paralyzing all transportation and the people's supply with food and bread. There are no supplies of rice, oil, macaroni, sugar, etc. available in the district. Telephone communication between Puke and other districts has been interrupted.

An announcer-read report from Elbasan states that "the strike is continuing in almost all enterprises."

### Miners Union Issues Declaration

*AU2105190091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] A statement by the Independent Trade Union of Valias Mine issued by Gezim Shima, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Independent Trade Unions at Valias Mine, and a declaration by the Independent Miners Union of Albania have reached the radio and television. The first states that, now that the technical situation in the Valias mine has been repaired, the strike resumes. The Miners Union's declaration states among other things that the most recent Council of Ministers communique is one-sided. It makes a distinction between miners and other working people and their immediate demands. This sows disunity among the country's working people and could lead to a further deterioration of the situation, as far as blocking of the foreign currency earned from mines. The statement also stresses the continuation of the strike at Valias.

### BASHKIMI Declared Free of 'Party Influence'

*AU2105202991 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 3 May 91 p 1*

[Unattributed editorial: "What Will BASHKIMI Be Like From Now On?"]

[Text] The de facto and de jure creation of a pluralist society in the Republic of Albania is a historic victory of democracy. Under these circumstances, when a range of different political parties are active, different newspapers have also been added to the media network.

Party newspapers represent the interests of the political parties to which they belong, or at least interpret facts and events from their point of view. Meanwhile, BASHKIMI will be free of all state and party influence; its aim will be for its journalists to be answerable only to the nation, the law, and their professional conscience. It has finally stopped overlooking taboo subjects and will report candidly and impartially about everything and everybody, with a focus on and a dedication to national unity. It will cover the major problems of national and international life.

Besides this important task, the Albanian world will be its central, permanent, and general concern, as we have already shown. BASHKIMI will write about the important Albanian cause, the Albanians in Yugoslavia and Greece, and patriotic Albanian societies wherever they may be, in Europe, America, or as far as Australia. It will make known our distinguished personalities, past and present, to Albanians in Albania and our compatriots throughout the world.

Another permanent concern of our paper will be the joys and sorrows of the Albanian emigrants who have left our country since July last year, their employment and their integration into the countries where they have settled. We will describe our religious communities at home and abroad, their role in people's spiritual lives, their preservation of their patriotic feelings, and their love for their long-suffering homeland.

We will do everything possible for a newspaper to do to sustain a continual flow of information about mother Albania, the homeland of all our compatriots, and will acquaint Albanians in Albania with the activities of Albanian clubs throughout the world. Thus we will shoulder a neglected and forgotten duty, correcting the erroneous policy of the past, when Albania decided and conducted its relations with the world solely on the basis of ideological criteria, with the evil consequences we now know well. However, this time is over. Thus, we will fill a major spiritual and temporal vacuum.

We invite all Albanian personalities throughout the world, intellectuals, and leaders of patriotic societies, to cooperate with our newspaper so we may perform this patriotic duty to the best of our ability. We are waiting for you to write us about the life and work of these societies.

In requesting and expecting this cooperation, BASHKIMI invites subscriptions to the newspaper for the second half of this year, beginning in June. One year's subscription costs $80. BASHKIMI also accepts donations from our compatriots throughout the world. For this purpose, it has opened a current account with the following number: Albanian State Bank, Account No. 611/107. Our temporary telefax number is 355/42/258-58. When this changes, we will report again.

## 'Signs of Anarchy' Reported in Shkoder Villages

*AU2205075391 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 15 May 91 p 1*

[Pellumb Sulo article: "What Is Going On in Shkoder Villages?"]

[Text] How can one describe the situation that has recently been created in Shkoder villages—difficult, serious, alarming?

None of these expressions adequately provide a clear picture of what is happening. It is no longer a question of shortages of fertilizer or oil, poor quality work or low work attendance, the level of organization or absenteeism.

Various particular groups of individuals, sometimes organized and sometimes not, are at work in these villages, entering the cowsheds and seizing the best livestock by day or night, and taking the animals to their homes, without worrying about anything or anybody. This started in the cooperative of Bajze, and then spread like a general epidemic to virtually all the villages in the district. As we learned from the district's Agricultural Section, by 10 May only one cooperative in the district was still unaffected, that of Grizhe. In breach of every rule and regulation, livestock have even been seized from the stalls of the agricultural enterprises. This has happened in the small herds and the concentrated herds of the Shkoder Agricultural Enterprise and the Corn and Rice Institute. According to the Agricultural Section's provisional data on 10 May, about 75 percent of all the cows of the agricultural cooperatives are missing from their stalls, and the number of those remaining is declining every day. Cooperativists, seeing that the "bravest" individuals seize two or three cows each without anything happening to them, realize that their livestock—i.e. that of the cooperatives—is no longer safe; therefore, they hurry to the cowsheds to take what remains. Nevertheless, there are not enough animals left for everybody. The chairman of Melgushe Cooperative told us, "Only 90 families took the cattle from the stalls, and 400 others were left without anything."

Faced with this situation, many are exclaiming: Where is the cooperative board? Where are the people's council, the mass organizations, the specialized authorities for law enforcement, and the District Committee itself? The truth is that they are virtually blocked, and feel impotent and powerless to act when faced with the behavior of these people who trample on the regulations of the cooperative and the law of the state by laying down the law in the village themselves. Cooperative chairmen hurry to the stalls, the homes of cooperatives, the brigades, and the management board, and then to the Agricultural Section, the investigator, the court, and the prosecutor... but without finding an answer or even support anywhere.

Problems are multiplying in the countryside. In Mbishkoder, some families are loudly claiming their former land. In Nenshkoder, others are demanding that the cooperative

should revert to the village's original boundaries. As if this were not enough, many town-dwellers, with urban residence permits issued decades ago, are coming to demand the land they once possessed in the countryside.

All these things indicate that the villages of Shkoder have not only been plunged into insecurity, but that the situation, which is still deteriorating, is showing signs of anarchy. What is happening in these villages today should not be considered in isolation from the general picture of insecurity that prevails in the city of Shkoder too.

A telex sent by the prime minister on 6 May expresses concern at the state of affairs and states that "measures should be taken urgently to stabilize the situation. Decisions made at general meetings of the cooperative are binding, and should be enforced by everybody." No one knows what specific measures should be taken, if they are to be effective. General meetings of cooperatives have been held and in some places the problem has been solved, such as in Velipoje, Dedaj, Kace, and Kuc. In other cooperatives, however, even though it has been decided that commissions should allocate the livestock, those who have seized the largest number are refusing to hand them back for redistribution. Therefore, how can this complicated cat's cradle be untangled? All levels of officials of the state, the party, and the social organizations in the villages have involved themselves in this whirlpool of questions and worries. Yet, strangely, they feel impotent, not to say paralyzed, in this highly politicized and fraught situation in Shkoder District. The prime minister's telex passes down from the Committee Presidium to the Agricultural Section and from there it is distributed among the cooperative boards. Everything is done in a mechanical way, repeating obsolete rituals and habits, while in the meantime the cooperativists, who are mostly honest people, wait for a reasonable solution. But from whom? The Agricultural Section's official in this district, weary from his fruitless efforts, admits sincerely: "Faced with this situation, we are powerless." Meanwhile, social tension in the countryside is rising, and insecurity knows no bounds. The city too is seriously affected, because the milk supply for nurseries, hospitals, and pregnant mothers is in danger.

Anyway, we can reach one conclusion quickly: The situation in most of the villages of Shkoder District calls for swift and far-reaching action on the part of all state and party organizations, the people's elected representatives, and all healthy forces who do not desire anarchy, with all its serious consequences.

## Prime Minister Views Soviet Bilateral Talks

*AU2105132391 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 16 May 91 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitur Popov by Lyuben Genov; place and date not given: "There Are No Preconditions for Talks Between Popov and Pavlov"—first paragraph is OTECHESTVEN FRONT introduction]

[Text] Today Dimitur Popov departs for Moscow on a working visit. This visit prompted our interview.

[Genov] Bulgarian-Soviet relations are a subject of contradictory assessments. How do you see those relations?

[Popov] Under the circumstances, which are known to all, economic (and not only economic) relations between Bulgaria and the USSR are stagnating. We cannot say that the bilateral agreement that was signed by the end of December 1990, is implemented as planned. We also cannot say that our economic relations suit our expectations. The USSR does not supply the contracted quantities of fuels and raw materials at a steady pace. The same applies to Bulgaria's obligations. After the disintegration of CEMA we are experiencing a serious disruption of economic relations between Bulgaria and the other members of that organization. However, relations with the USSR are of greatest importance for us. Unexpectedly, the Soviet market was closed for our goods to a large degree and many of our goods cannot be exported. This hinders the normal development of our economy. The same applies to the Soviet economy. Concerned with this situation, I and the government adopted energetic measures aimed at organizing talks with the Soviet Government and concluding an agreement, which could serve as the political and legal foundation of economic relations in the future. Some people think that because of purely political reasons economic relations with the USSR should be decreased to a symbolic minimum. There is no reason for such a position. No political forces that have a real part in Bulgaria's social life, express such a position. None of the economic and political experts who visited our country and met with me (and other people as well), recommended that we discontinue relations with the USSR.

[Genov] This was also pointed out in your talks with Jacques Delors and his aides at the EC Council in Brussels.

[Popov] It is obvious that our economy cannot successfully develop without the Soviet markets and suppliers of raw materials, and the trade exchange with the USSR; therefore, we took steps to sign an agreement with the Soviet Government. The Soviet side also showed interest in such an agreement, and a few days ago I received an invitation from USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov to conduct talks on this matter in Moscow. Naturally, economics will be the dominant subject. We will review the implementation of the current agreement. Many problems must be resolved, such as the manner of payments. Neither the Bulgarian nor the Soviet side can pay in convertible foreign currency for the goods, raw materials, fuels, electric power, and transportation. In the beginning, the Soviet position on this issue was categorical; however, now there is a readiness to conduct goods exchange, clearing, and barter deals. This will probably be one of the basic issues in the talks with Valentin Pavlov.

We prepared theses on the issues that we propose to discuss. The timber industry in Komi is one of those issues. Some 150,000 of our citizens are involved in Komi's timber industry. If their activity is discontinued they will become unemployed. The government of Komi is interested in continuing our involvement in the timber industry. For this, however, it is necessary to reach an agreement with the Soviet Government.

It also is well-known that several thousand of our citizens work in the USSR. We receive for their work mainly oil and power. The sharp decrease of construction in the USSR and the shortage of credits for construction affected the employment of those Bulgarian workers. Some of them have already returned to Bulgaria. We will negotiate about the status of our construction workers in the USSR and will ask to involve them in apartment and public facilities construction, related to the return of USSR troops from Germany. It is well known that Germany gave the USSR $13 billion for such construction. We are interested in taking part in this construction under mutually beneficial conditions. We are capable of such participation.

[Genov] The issue of paying for the transportation of people and goods from the USSR to Bulgaria also is very important.

[Popov] After the introduction of a new system of calculating shipping expenses, the cost of transportation increased, something that negatively affected Bulgarian interests.

Generally, we must assess the present state of Bulgarian-USSR relations and their future. We would like to activate them.

We also expect that we will talk about the basic tenets and contents of the Bulgarian-USSR treaty on cooperation in all areas of life, which the two countries wish to sign. The upcoming meeting is a working one and it will affect first of all procedural matters. If the possibility exists, we will also specify some of the future treaty's articles.

It is expected that at the meeting of the minister of foreign affairs the text of the draft treaty will be coordinated, and that the signing ceremony can be prepared. The signing could be done by the prime ministers, or, if agreement on this could be reached—by the presidents.

[Genov] We all know about the commotion evoked by certain clauses in the USSR-Romanian treaty. In this context one can only guess whether Bulgaria will accept such clauses....

[Popov] Bulgaria and the USSR have not committed themselves to any preconditions before the beginning of our talks. Each country proposed its draft. We expect to conduct talks in a constructive atmosphere as representatives of independent countries on the basis of mutual benefit and respect. One should not expect that the basic postulates of the future treaty will be formed at the conclusion of our talks.

The interest of the Soviet side toward the upcoming meeting is as great as our interest. Obviously, the Soviet side assesses that further delaying mutual relations could produce grave consequences for both countries. Preliminary information about our visit to Moscow reveals the possibility of having contacts with the governments of Russia and the Ukraine.

[Genov] One can hear voices that suggest a contradiction between our relations with NATO and Bulgarian-USSR relations.

[Popov] IZVESTIYA carried a report according to which in a talk with a journalist after the visit to NATO Headquarters, I "let it be understood" that Bulgaria does not wish to sign a new treaty with Moscow, because such a step would hinder our incorporation into organizations such as NATO. It is well known that Bulgaria has not requested and cannot request NATO membership, because NATO's position is categorical—no Central European countries will be admitted as new members. This could increase tension in Europe and exacerbate the confrontation with the Soviet Armed Forces. When I conducted talks at NATO Headquarters I did not aim to request admitting Bulgaria to NATO, (nor was there any possibility to do so). My goal was to create maximum transparency in Bulgaria's relations with this organization, to begin the establishment of relations, which could soften the character of mutual relations and eliminate the suspicion that existed until now, and contribute to a better atmosphere of tranquility and security. The talks with Manfred Woerner and representatives of the NATO member countries revealed the interesting idea for the further structure and role of this organization, namely, turning NATO into the defensive power of a future united Europe. Such a united Europe cannot exist without the participation of the USSR. This was constantly pointed out—the USSR cannot and must not be isolated. No difference is made in NATO's relations with the USSR and the other East European countries. NATO's present policy does not threaten any European state. Indeed, NATO's policy is a process that continues to develop. Naturally, NATO makes an effort to enhance the defensive capability of its flanks, including its southern flank. However, this effort does not aim against the other countries in the region. It is motivated by the developments of events in the Near East and the Persian Gulf. We received the assurance that NATO does not threaten Bulgaria's security and calm. I would like to stress again that no relations between Bulgaria and NATO exist that could jeopardize the agreement with the USSR. The Soviet side understood this. Those who think differently, do not understand the political realities.

[Genov] The issue of guaranteeing our security again emerges.

[Popov] No former member of the Warsaw Pact could be considered a military guarantee of our national security after the disintegration of the organization. The military shield of the Warsaw Pact, which used to cover Bulgaria, does not exist any longer. Naturally, the possibility of a bilateral agreement cannot be excluded; however, those are issues that will be resolved under the new conditions with a view to serving mutual interests. It is well known that almost all former members of the Warsaw Pact are making preparations for such agreements. However, for the time being, except certain clauses of the USSR-Romanian treaty, no military agreement has been signed. The USSR-Romanian treaty is an agreement between two independent countries that have the right to do whatever they wish. This treaty is not aimed against Bulgaria. The USSR also signed an interesting treaty with Turkey on cooperation in many areas of life. The analysis shows that this treaty does not affect Bulgarian interests at all. The Bulgarian-USSR treaty will also not affect the interests of any other state.

[Genov] Nevertheless, when do you expect to sign the new Bulgarian-Soviet treaty?

[Popov] It is a matter for the near future. Both sides are interested in signing it as soon as possible, because our economic relations must rapidly develop. I hope that we will sign it next month. Greater clarity will emerge after the upcoming talks with Valentin Pavlov.

## Military Clause of Soviet Treaty Under Scrutiny

*AU2105153791 Sofia BTA in English 1441 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—Whatever the military clause in the new Bulgaro-Soviet treaty may be, it will meet with a strongly negative reaction from the Bulgarian public under the circumstances, according Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Social Democratic Party and of the Parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). He says that any treaty including a military agreement evokes terrible memories now.

This is what Dr. Dertliev told President Zhelev, Prime Minister Popov, and Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, one of the Socialist Party leaders. He told the same to Soviet Embassy officials in Sofia and believes that he made his point.

According to information leaked by a well-informed source, however, the drafts of the new Bulgaro-Soviet treaty have left the door open for the so-called "military

clause." On his return from Moscow last Saturday, Prime Minister Popov denied that such a clause was being drafted. He added that experts were continuing their work on the treaty.

According to the Rakovski Legion, a professional organization of Bulgarian military officers, under the treaty Bulgaria should be protected from possible aggression like the one against Kuwait. At the same time, the treaty should prevent a possible intervention by the Soviet military machine.

The Rakovski Legion declares itself in favour of military cooperation with the Soviet Union. According to it, the treaty should provide for and guarantee the supply of military equipment and ammunitions to the Bulgarian Army. The legion insists on a mutually advantageous, well-balanced, short-term treaty between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

### SDS Deputies Comment on Assembly Walkout

*AU2205212391 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 May 91 p 3*

[Statement signed by 39 named deputies of the Union of Democratic Forces, dated 14 May: "Declaration of Union of Democratic Forces Deputies"—"Responsibility Toward the Nation"]

[Text] On 26 April 1991 a group of National Assembly deputies addressed all members of the Grand National Assembly urging it to adopt a decision about the restitution of the money that the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]-Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] got from the state budget and on the self-dissolution of the legislature by 15 May so the president may schedule new legislative elections for mid-July.

Even the slightest attempt to place the two aforementioned items on the agenda was disregarded.

If today, the undersigned deputies from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] are leaving the legislature, this act should not be attributed to their lack of respect for legislative democracy. It simply means that the Grand National Assembly has demonstrated its incapacity to fulfill the lofty mission entrusted to it by the voters.

Considering the lack of public confidence in the National Assembly, the artificial prolongation of its agony is likely to jeopardize the future of our nation. No effort of forcing its further functioning today is capable of concealing the fact that, over the last 10 months, the Grand National Assembly was simply trying to mend old laws and engaged in futile political squabbles, instead of fulfilling its real main task, namely the adoption of a new constitution. We have long since been convinced that the majority in our legislature is imposing its decisions by force, that it obstructs the work of inconvenient commissions, and provokes political confrontation. We no longer believe in the pledges of this majority and in its false enthusiasm.

A real danger exists that the constitution and the basic laws may not only be postponed, but even passed in distorted versions, involving numerous antidemocratic traps.

Considering the present composition of the Grand National Assembly, the legislature is the only institution in our country today in which the Communists are capable of imposing their will unhindered.

Through such an institution, precisely, the BSP has the opportunity of posing as a normal, legitimate party, which it is not, while Bulgaria gains the disgraceful reputation of being a country with a communist leadership similar to Romania and Albania.

We consider it our duty once more to warn the National Assembly deputies that our country has reached a turning point. The economic reform was initiated by the government, but has dangerously clashed with the interests of the nomenklatura class—the main support of the BSP. The interests of this class can only be overcome by radical economic laws likely to create the legislative guarantees for the change of the economic system instead of a perestroyka. Contrary to this, the Grand National Assembly is engaging in compromises, by adopting contradictory and imperfect bills. It is sufficient to point out the Land on the Law and the Law on Foreign Investments in this respect. A less-than-perfect draft constitution has now been submitted which guarantees the impunity of the chief culprits responsible for Bulgaria's national disaster and the inviolability of the state property they have seized. Our society has wasted extremely valuable time while the "parliament show" produced and directed by the BSP is going on.

Our decision is dictated by moral considerations, in the first place, and should not be interpreted as an effort to exert pressure upon the Grand National Assembly, or as an impulse for extra-parliamentary actions, regardless of some people's wishful thinking in that direction. Our decision was dictated by our conscience and is the natural result stemming from our sense of duty toward our constituents and the organizations which we are representing. The nonobservance of the political agreement that saved legislative life and contributed to the establishment of the new government is an undeniable proof confirming that the present majority in the legislature is not a reliable partner in the political dialogue which we were ready and are still ready to conduct in this hall.

We do not reprimand our colleagues who have decided to reman, but we call upon them to reflect on the extent to which their further participation in the work of the Grand National Assembly is incompatible with the responsibility that they have assumed as representatives of the united Bulgarian opposition and to decide whether by further participating in it they do not serve as a cover for the restructuring of the old party upper crust into new post- communist forms of domination. For this reason, we, guided by our sense of responsibility to the nation's

future and the fate of the economic reforms, have decided to abstain from attending the sessions of the Grand National Assembly, thus remaining loyal to our legislative oath that commits us always and under all circumstances to defend the interests of our constituents and of our people.

We give decisive support to the president and to the government who guarantee the country's stability.

We categorically declare ourselves in favor of holding legislative elections without delay. The Grand National Assembly is now becoming a source of tension because of the existing imbalance of political forces in parliament and society. The political and social tensions caused by certain BSP circles and likely to develop into a social upheaval by next autumn are increasing. We have every reason to presume that nationalistic passions will be fanned within the coming months. Legislative elections are the only political guarantee for the success of the economic reforms, under the current cumstances, reforms likely to change the economic system and to guarantee the political and social stability of our society.

Being loyal to our commitment of 26 April 1991, while implementing the decisions of the SDS—and last but not least—taking into consideration the wish of hundred of thousands of people who are sharing the indivisible democratic idea in support of prompt and radical change of the political system, we announce our future abstinence from the sessions of the Grand National Assembly in awaiting the decisions of the SDS National Conference.

We urge our colleagues in the National Assemnbly to follow our example and give the president the opportunity of scheduling legislative elections.

The people have the last word!

Sofia, 14 May 1991.
Signed:

Stefan Savov
Elka Konstantinova
Yanko Yankov
Yordan Vasilev
Georgi Markov
Ognyan Georgiev
Manol Zhurnalov
Ventsislav Medarski
Petko Turpanov
Dimitur Topliyski
Vladimir Manolov
Georgi Baev
Georgi Lipovanski
Nikolay Slatinski
Edvin Sugarev
Pavel Mazulov
Dimitur Penchev
Spas Dimitrov
Vladimir Dzhaferov
Mikhail Nedelchev
Zlatka Ruseva
Todor Kolev
Zoya Komitova
Vladislav Daskalov
Plamen Darakchiev
Kiril Marichkov
Ilich Tsvetkov
Manush Romanov
Aleksandur Yanchulev
Aleksandur Pramatarski
Ventsislav Dimitrov
Aleksandur Yordanov
Stoyan Ganev
Andrey Andreev
Khristo Markov
Vasil Kostov
Petur Markov
Ilko Eskenazi
Yasen Zlatkov

## Dertliev Sets Conditions for Staying in Assembly

*AU2105145191 Sofia BTA in English 1353 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—The moderate MP's of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) who remained in parliament still insist that it continue its work. However, now they are laying down more categorical terms to the Socialists: They are following closely their behaviour both inside and outside parliament. Outside parliament the Socialist Party apparat is playing a dangerous game: It hands out privileges, threatens to dismiss people, refuses to return the money embezzled from the state. If things go on like this, the moderate MP's will also know better than to remain in parliament.

This is what Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Social Democratic Party and of the parliamentary SDS, told journalists. According to him, the constitution should be passed by June at the latest, and the new parliamentary elections should be held in September.

The main reason why the moderates have remained in parliament and insist on elections in September is that the opposition should pave the way for its victory. A possible victory for the former Communists will be a national tragedy, according to Dr. Dertliev.

A new Electoral Law is another top priority for the opposition MP's who remained in parliament, besides the constitution and several key economic acts. The law which was in effect during the latest elections favoured the Communists.

The Social Democratic Party, one of the most influential parties in the SDS, upholds the proportional representation system. However, its stand depends on the agreement which the parties in the opposition coalition are preparing to conclude.

## Legislative Elections, Constitution Discussed

*AU2105190791 Sofia BTA in English 1706 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—Mr. Georgi Spasov M.P. of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) moved in parliament today that the Grand National Assembly take a vote on the date of its self-dissolution. The parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) immediately stated that under the law parliament should first accomplish its principal mission, which is to pass the constitution.

The parliamentary BSP met with President Zhelev. According to a source who spoke on condition of anonymity, the president voiced concern over the dangerous overlap of anti-Communism and monarchism which Bulgaria witnesses now.

After the meeting with President Zhelev, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, BSP deputy chairman, said that it is quite possible to pass the Constitution by the end of June. The president and the Socialists hold identical views on this matter, according to ex-Prime Minister Lukanov. But his statement shows that the Socialists insist that local elections be held in September before the general elections. Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Social Democratic Party and of the parliamentary SDS, was categorical today: The opposition wants parliamentary elections first.

Simultaneous local and parliamentary elections are being discussed as a third option.

Well-informed sources claim that an agreement on the elections is being prepared and may be signed later this week.

Dr. Aleksandur Chirkov M.P. of the Social Democratic Party joined today the group of radically-minded opposition M.P.'s who walked out of parliament on May 14. Now their number has reached 46. Their representatives will hold "talks with heads of official institutions" this week.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) will make its stand known tomorrow after its M.P.'s meet with the BZNS Standing Committee. Mr. Ivan Glushkov, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly and an influential figure in the BZNS, said last night that he himself favoured a dissolution of parliament.

The M.P.'s go on debating the draft constitution.

## Dimitrov Says Socialists Gaining Popularity

*AU2105133891 Sofia BTA in English 0945 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—According to the monitoring group with the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the Socialists are still a popular and influential force. In an interview for today's "DUMA," the BSP daily, Mr. Dimitur Dimitrov, head of the group, says that the party's rating has slightly improved after suffering a decline last summer.

According to Mr. Dimitrov, the BSP rating will continue to rise once the Grand National Assembly starts debating the constitution and the economic bills. Mr. Dimitrov says that the decline might have been influenced by Andrey Lukanov's one-party Socialist government.

According to the group's experts, who are mainly politologists and sociologists, what is most important is not whether the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) will lose the next elections. (Sociological surveys show a steady lead of the SDS.) What really matters is that aggressiveness is a real danger to society and that Bulgaria may re-experience things of the past: repressions and bloodshed, political persecutions of the intelligentsia.

Mr. Dimitrov says that what troubles him most are the unpredictable reactions of the marginal social strata which can be manipulated both by left-wing and by right-wing extremists. I am afraid that certain forces, wishing to introduce anew, state security law, banning all political parties, may gain the upper hand Mr. Dimitrov says.

Mr. Dimitrov dwells on the links between the BSP with the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party and claims that historically the two parties are closest to the Socialists. The three parties are destined to cooperate, it is said in the interview. The BSDP [Bulgarian Social Democratic Party] and the Nikola Petkov BZNS set up an independent formation within the SDS and have controversies with the neoliberal bloc.

Mr. Dimitrov asserts that in the past 18 months 99 percent of the BSP leaders were replaced, that the radical movements in the party are influential but are no longer generating new ideas. According to Mr. Dimitrov, the BSP leadership is pursuing a reformist and not a conservative policy.

Mr. Dimitrov says that no political force is likely to win an absolute majority in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

## Weekly Alleges $5 Billion Invested Abroad

*AU2105141291 Sofia BTA in English 1234 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—Bulgarian capital valued at about 5 billion U.S. dollars has flowed out of the country, the latest "DEBATI" weekly writes, having made a journalistic inquiry. According to the inquiry the country's deep economic crisis and the political deadlock are a cover under which the former political rulers are turning their own people into capitalists.

The article points to the 10-year old tradition of handling money-laundering operations abroad. It began with scandalous drugs and arms trafficking, then a network was set up of companies managed by stand-ins and finally the money was flowed into the country to be used in privatization.

The tiresome and degrading political infighting, the parliamentary bickering and petty scandals were designed to prolong the time needed for the turnover of capitals, journalist Atanas Spasov says.

The article touches upon certain aspects of the activities of Bulgaria's former electronics giant, now Disk Memory Devices Associate Company, and promises to make public a number of discrediting documents soon.

Mr. Spasov raises the question of two other companies: Data Magnetics (northern Ireland) and Etl nestled in the lee of the above-mentioned associate company. According to the data released, Data Magnetics has received five million U.S. dollars from its Bulgarian partner. The documentation on the operations of Etl is said to be in the hands of a certain General Georgi Manchev of the Ministry of the Interior.

In his article Mr. Spasov mentions some mysterious "Neva" project and a mysterious Bulgarian company called Insist, which maintains contacts with Etl. According to the publication the "Neva" project for exporting technologies to the USSR cost the Bulgarian taxpayers 165 million. It is insisted to reveal the truth about the Bulgarian Kintex Organization and its shoulder-strapped personnel, about the role of the Soviet Supreme Military Commission and its Bulgarian counterpart—the party-cum-state commission established by the totalitarian regime.

Overseas investments, expatriation of property and securities from Bulgaria, fraudulent bankruptcies and sabotages in big state companies, black-marketeering and speculations involving millions are the actual parameters of the economic crisis, it is pointed out in the article.

## Dertliev Discourages Return to Monarchy

*AU2105085391 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 14 May 91 p 2*

[Interview with Social Democratic Party Chairman Petur Dertliev by Simeon Danev; place and date not given: "Everybody Has the Right to Their Opinion, I am a Republican"—first paragraph is VECHERNI NOVINI introduction]

[Text] Petur Dertliev is someone whose opinion people are listening to more often. There are lots of reasons for this, but one of them is particularly important—his principled stand. In this way he approaches the subject of the day: Should Bulgaria be a republic or a monarchy?

[Dertliev] Everybody has the right to their own opinion, but I am a republican. I have strongly held this stance for the last 10 years, and I see no reason to move away from it. I would, however, like to say one thing: During this generally difficult economic and political situation we should not make a problem out of this question, especially at the moment when there are so many unfinished things for the political forces of this country to do.

[Danevski] You can see what campaign is being waged in the country at the moment. It is rumored that Mr. Simeon Saxe Coburg Gotha is likely to visit Bulgaria in the coming month.

[Dertliev] I would have no admiration for that visit; we do not need it at the moment. The Bulgarian monarchy has given us no basis to accept it as a democratic institution. In that respect our history gives us so many examples that it is not necessary to remind people of them. We need a truly democratic, republican Constitution that we can present to the free and democratic peoples of the world. What is even more important is that they accept us.

[Danevski] But Mr. Dertliev, there are monarchies that do not hinder the democratic development of their countries.

[Dertliev] Yes, there are, but I doubt the democratism of the Bulgarian monarchy. I am afraid of a monocracy under whatever name. That is why I repeat once again that I am a republican and that our new Constitution, which we are going to accept, must be republican.

Then I will be convinced that the Bulgarian people are, on the whole, republican minded. Our people have a strongly developed democratic feeling, and that is why I can honestly say that I do not see any future for an institution, authoritarian in character.

[Danevski] But we all saw how Maria-Louisa was greeted on her visit to the country.

[Dertliev] Many of those people who went to see her did so out of a keen sense of curiosity. That is completely natural. There is another question here, that of the emotional charge of such a visit. But anything more than that is highly unlikely...

[Danevski] Finally, without giving any specific cause, do you expect there to be any form of disorder within the country?

[Dertliev] No, we should not even be talking about this. We do not need dramatic developments at the moment; they would be to the detriment of the democratic processes that, albeit with painfully and difficulty, are irreversibly beginning to take place. Force, regardless of origin or outcome, should not come out on top and dictate its will. What is most called for at the moment is calm and sober common sense to lead the country out of the abyss, out of the grips of totalitarianism, and for all of us together to set out along the road of democracy.

## Podkrepa's Trenchev on Monarchy, Trade Unions

*AU2105202191 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 15 May 91 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Podkrepa Labor Confederation Chairman Konstantin Trenchev by Silvia Stefanova; place and date not given: "Trenchev on Latest Political Gossip"]

[Text] [Stefanova] Mr. Trenchev, you accompanied Princess Maria Louisa during her Bulgarian visit and were seen with her on nearly all occasions. How do you evaluate the results of her visit?

[Trenchev] I could point out two results of this visit: One, I would describe as negative and the other as positive. The negative result is based on the fact that certain people ruling our country today have a great

inferiority complex and a tendency to do silly things. Such a combination is quite dangerous in the current transitional period.

[Stefanova] What exactly do you mean by this? Your statement sounds somewhat vague.

[Trenchev] I do not intend to mention specific names. I am convinced that the people in question will recognize themselves.

The positive result is that the Bulgarian people have not abandoned their traditions with the past, that they are aware of their own role in the country's present and future. The healthy forces, the true democrats, the people who cherish the country's wellbeing, are in control.

[Stefanova] What do you mean by true democrats, and do you think that the royal visit had any political connotations?

[Trenchev] There were no political connotations on the princess's side. However, the people themselves attached a political meaning to the visit, considering that the princess symbolizes an institution that never disgraced itself and represents a dynasty that has always been striving for the Bulgarian people's well-being.

[Stefanova] The rumor says that the visit was not accidental, considering that it coincided with the adoption of a new constitution....

[Trenchev] The visit took place at the invitation of several public organizations and dates back to January. Regarding the constitution, I think that it could have been adopted prior to the visit. Why this did not happen—you know the answer yourself. The question of what this constitution, which everyone is in such a hurry to adopt at this very moment, would be like—is evident. Those who destroyed democracy and those who helped them to destroy it are incapable of any democratic action. They are so afraid of the growing social tension, of the fact that certain legal institutions might remain inactive, and of Podkrepa's unwillingness to further discuss the current problems in a peaceful manner, that they are even trying to revive dead cases such as the one of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] headquarters' arson.

I would even say that the Prosecutor's Office is under their pressure and was forced to resume the discussion of newly imposing bail on me. Considering that I have been invited to attend a congress in Luxemburg, I feel obliged to announce my decision to subject myself to voluntary bail by refusing to leave the country as long as communism has not been overthrown.

[Stefanova] The Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]-Center were recently accused of trying to introduce a split within the SDS. Are you ready to comment on this?

[Trenchev] We have nothing in common with the SDS-Center. As observers in the SDS and as supporters of this organization, however, we are entitled to give our advice and to make relevant remarks.

[Stefanova] If the great strike Podkrepa called off after the resignation of Lukanov's government would have continued as Krustyu Petkov [chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] wished and had led to the dissolution of the legislature, we might be closer to progress along the path of democracy. Was it a mistake to interrupt the strike?

[Trenchev] I would not say that calling off the strike was a mistake, if we consider things from a single point of view. We expressly declared on that occasion that we are not involved in political actions, while a strike against the legislature is a political action indeed. We dealt with the government as the chief employer who did not do his job properly and we gave politicians a chance of forming a government capable of holding elections. If this had happened, things would have fallen into place a long time ago. Various trends of appeasement prevailed instead, but this is a different question. I would urge the politicians to fulfill their share of the agreement with the trade unions, because the trade unions have done their share.

[Stefanova] Nevertheless, you supported the declaration of the SDS deputies who wished to walk out of the legislature, which is not a trade union issue....

[Trenchev] We supported the statement of those deputies who declared that the Grand National Assembly's work is unsatisfactory. We neither advised them to leave, nor to remain. This is their own business.

### Soviet Envoy Protests Pink Tank Incident

*LD2105191591 Prague CTK in English 1621 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Prague May 21 (CTK)—Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Boris Pankin said here today that painting a Soviet tank memorial pink was an irresponsible act, and that he expected its original colour to be restored.

Pankin conveyed to Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka the indignation of the Soviet public and the Soviet leadership over the repeated defacing of the World War II memorial in Prague's Smichov district. The tank was first painted pink by art student David Cerny on April 28. On May 16 it was painted pink again by 15 Federal Assembly (parliament) deputies.

Matejka expressed regret over the painting of the tank.

Czechoslovak Ambassador to the Soviet Union Rudolf Slansky was summoned today to the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow where Soviet officials expressed strong condemnation of the latest tank-painting incident.

### Israeli Envoy Terms Tank Sales 'Unacceptable'

*AU2205123691 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 May 91 p 14*

[Interview with Yoel Sher, Israeli ambassador to the CSFR, by Vaclav Bervida in Prague; date not given: "Selling Czechoslovak Tanks to Syria Would Be Unacceptable"—first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpt] The Israeli diplomatic mission has been situated in Prague's Micurinova Street since last winter. Yoel Sher is the first Israeli ambassador to Czechoslovakia for more than two decades. Our interview with him provides a clear illustration of the stances adopted by one of the sides affected by the age-old conflict in the Middle East. The planned sale of Czechoslovak tanks to Syria came up logically in connection with Czechoslovak-Israeli relations.

[Bervida] You have protested to the Federal Foreign Ministry against the planned sale of tanks. This testifies to the Israeli Government's discontent. In your opinion, what consequences could the sale have for Israeli-Czechoslovak relations?

[Sher] I hope that the sale will not take place and that it is merely an intention; I also protested against this. I do not think the CSFR Government has given sufficient consideration to the consequences of such a transaction. The issue involved making sure it knew about them before it made its decision.

I fully understand the CSFR's economic problems, mainly its problems—including unemployment—with the conversion of the armaments industry in Slovakia. However, it is impossible to resolve these problems by selling deadly weapons to one of the most sensitive regions in the world. Even despite the very pressing reasons for the economic survival of a considerable number of your people, it would be unacceptable if a country allied with us strengthened with heavy weapons a state that has refused to recognize our right to existence for 43 years. This is politically and physically dangerous for us.

[Bervida] Czechoslovak officials, however—specifically Foreign Minister J. Dienstbier on Czechoslovak Television on 12 May—have said that these tanks cannot be a threat to Israel on account of its modern armaments.

[Sher] Do the Syrians know this? If these tanks were merely intended to file through the streets once a year during military parades, Syria would perhaps have second thoughts about the purchase. The threat implied by Syria's heavy weapons is not diminishing. First and foremost, at a time when we are endeavoring to reduce tension and armaments in the region, such trade goes beyond the course we would like foreign interventions in the Middle East to take.

[Bervida] Your country also produces weapons, however. How would it behave if it were in the same economic situation as the CSFR?

[Sher] I could mention many cases when we rejected such trade because it was clear that the governments in question would threaten a minority or a neighbor with the weapons.

[Bervida] What about Israel's armaments cooperation with South Africa?

[Sher] This is one of the cases I was talking about. As far as South Africa is concerned, we fully applied trade sanctions—and not only in weapons—as soon as the United Nations announced them. I could not say that other countries in the Middle East have behaved in a similar vein. They have secretly been selling oil to South Africa. Those who condemn us are, in fact, quietly doing a hundred times more things than we are. Nor does Israel authorize military supplies to undemocratic regimes in Latin America. [passage omitted]

### Slovak Government Decides To Complete Dam

*LD2105183191 Prague CTK in English 1535 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Bratislava May 21 (CTK)—The Slovak government dealt today with the results of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian talks on problems connected with the construction and completion of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water dams system on the Danube.

The government decided to ensure the completion of the Gabcikovo part on the Czechoslovak territory without the participation and consent of Hungary after June 15. It said that another meeting between Czechoslovak and

Hungarian Government delegations must be held before mid-June with the aim to try to reconcile considerable differences between the two sides before taking a principal decision.

In consequence of Hungary's withdrawal from the project Czechoslovakia lost 2,100 million crowns in 1990 and will lose 3,900 million crowns this year. The 1992 financial loss is expected to be 6,000 million crowns.

Hungary's suspension of work on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water dams system without a preliminary agreement is considered by the Slovak government a one-sided violation of an agreement between two states. Materials submitted by the Hungarian side to justify Hungary's procedure are unconvincing and lack concrete scientific analyses and proofs, the Slovak government said.

### Slovak Minister on Dam Project

*LD2105230391 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 21 May 91*

[Michal Tvarozek report on interview with Viliam Oberhauser, Slovak minister of forestry and water economy, by unidentified reporter]

[Excerpts] The government of the Slovak Republic is in session in Bratislava today. Michal Tvarozek reports: [passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] On the agenda is a report on the results of talks by the Czechoslovak Government with the Hungarian side about the comprehensive solution to the problems and construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project. This is the subject of our conversation with Viliam Oberhauser, minister of forestry and water economy of the Slovak republic. So what are the conclusions from these talks with the Hungarian side, which he had approximately a month ago?

[Begin recording] [Oberhauser] I am sure that the listeners remember that at the end of our talks we agreed that we cannot agree. The conclusion basically was that the Hungarian side recognized that an agreement exists, they recognized that they had backed down from the agreement, but they claimed that they had not broken the agreement because they stopped work because they thought they were endangering the ecology. We claimed that such assertions must be supported by factual arguments. The documentation which the Hungarian side gave us at the talks has been undergoing evaluation, and we have come to the conclusion that these are not factual arguments, but rather popular assertions without confirmation from expert and factual argumentation.

[Reporter] So what is the Slovak government's standpoint?

[Oberhauser] Well, according to preliminary talks which we have had with the Hungarian side, we agreed that we would meet again. This is also the view of our Foreign Ministry, that we should have one more meeting with the Hungarian side, this time on CSFR territory. Today we submitted a proposal for the proceedings of the talks and the proposed numbers of the delegation. We proposed Slovak Prime Minister Carnogursky as chairman of the delegation. It will be a kind of last attempt at agreement. Our starting point is that the agreement is valid, and if we do not reach agreement at these talks we are simultaneously working on a proposal for a solution, a temporary provisional solution on the territory of the CSFR alone, which would help put into operation at least that part of Gabcikovo. We have prepared a timetable for work, and at today's session we agreed that this week, on 23 May, we will meet with all interested parties and we will make the timetable more precise so that we can attempt to put the water project into operation, as we received preliminary approval by the government on 17 January, concerning variant C. If experts and the Slovak Commission for the Environment give a positive response to it, we will attempt to put this project into operation in 1992. This is what we are preparing the timetable for.

[Report] This should take place, for too long we have been having discussions with the Hungarian side and looking for a joint solution.

[Oberhauser] I think that these coming talks will be initiated with all signs of goodwill on our part, because we want to solve the whole problem together. After that, we will truly have to proceed to defend our interests, both economic and ecological, because the countryside is still suffering because it has not yet been solved. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### President Havel Leaves for Scandinavian Tour

*LD2105165591 Prague CTK in English 0834 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Prague May 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel left here today for a nine-day tour of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark the aim of which is, as he put it, to establish a new type of relations with these countries and create conditions for promotion of cooperation.

Havel is accompanied on his longest ever foreign trip as president by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales, Czech Minister of Industry Jan Vrba and Slovak Minister of Trade and Tourism Jozef Chren.

Havel's wife Olga will be acquainted with the system of care of physically handicapped people in Scandinavia.

### I. Carnogursky Reportedly Linked to Secret Police

*LD2105094591 Prague CTK in English 2113 GMT 20 May 91*

[Text] Bratislava May 20 (CTK)—Slovak National Council (parliament) Deputy Chairman Ivan Carnogursky (Christian Democratic Movement-KDH) was a

state secret police agent, according to former Slovak Communist Party Central Control and Audit Commissioner Jan Demikat.

Demikat told journalists today that according to copies of documents to which he had access during the term of his former office, Ivan Carnogursky was registered as a secret police agent under the code number 20275 and code name "Engineer".

The Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) daily "SLOVENSKY DENNIK" wrote today that the KDH Presidium regards general accusations of cooperation with the state secret police as immoral and unlawful. According to the daily, a commission set up by the Slovak parliament should start investigation of the accusation of Ivan Carnogursky of cooperation with the state secret police, originally raised by ex-Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar. According to the KDH Presidium, Ivan Carnogursky will be screened together with other Slovak parliament deputies, Slovak ministers and other prominent Slovak parliament deputies, Slovak ministers and other prominent Slovak representatives.

On May 8, Meciar made a statement on cooperation of an unspecified Slovak VIP with the state secret police, describing him as Agent No. 20275. The Slovak press reacted by writing the VIP might be Ivan Carnogursky. On May 12, Ivan Carnogursky made a statement saying that he has always refused cooperation with the secret police.

Today, Ivan Carnogursky (brother of Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky) told journalists he rules out the existence of any single document proving his cooperation with the secret police.

### Slovak Leader Rejects Charges Against Brother

*LD2105184491 Prague CTK in English 1532 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Bratislava May 21 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky said today that the circumstances surrounding the allegation that his brother Ivan, the deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council (parliament), had been a secret police (StB) agent, only show that Ivan Carnogursky had not signed any paper committing him to collaboration with the StB.

Jan Demikat, the former Slovak Communist Party Central Control and Audit Commission chairman, told journalists yesterday that according to copies of documents to which he had had access when he was in office, Ivan Carnogursky was registered in StB files under the code number 20275.

Speaking to journalists after a Slovak government session today, Jan Carnogursky said he and his whole family had known about the StB visits to his brother.

Jan Carnogursky said the whole matter is an affair for the Slovak parliament.

Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko said he considered it unworthy of the Slovak parliament to deal with the matter. He added that the Slovak parliament presidium is seeking a solution to the problem of screening politicians for possible past collaboration with the secret police, but will not work with anonymous materials. A plenary session of the Slovak National Council will have the last say in this matter, said Miklosko.

### Assembly Commission Discovers More StB 'Agents'

*LD2205083191 Prague CTK in English 1946 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Prague May 21 (CTK)—A parliamentary commission investigating the November 17, 1989, events submitted to the Federal Assembly (parliament) today a complete list of former secret police agents who currently hold posts in the Federal parliament, the Federal parliament office, the Federal Government and the office of its presidium.

The commission has been screening persons in public life for possible past collaboration with the former State Secret Police (StB).

According to the commission's report, six Federal ministers and deputy ministers were found to have been StB "secret agents" and eight StB "agents". 17 former "secret agents" and 16 former "agents" were discovered in the Federal Government Presidium office. 16 "secret agents" and nine "agents" were discovered in the Federal parliament office (11 of them hold leading posts).

The commission found two Federal parliament deputies to have been StB secret agents. One of them is Frantisek Michalek (Christian Democratic Party). The name of the other deputy has not been revealed as for "serious reasons" he has not yet been informed of the result of his screening. (All persons whose names are found in the StB registers have the chance to relinquish their posts within 15 days of being informed of the fact, without risking publication of their names.)

The parliamentary commission first screened Federal parliament deputies. Last March, it presented a list with 15 names of alleged former StB agents. Five of them resigned their seats while the names of the remaining 10 were read out at the Federal parliament session of March 22, transmitted live by Czechoslovak Television.

### Federal Assembly Approves Land Ownership Law

*LD2105194191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] The deputies of the Federal Assembly discussed the new law on land at their 15th joint meeting today. Jan Kulkavy, our reporter, talks to us from the Federal Assembly building.

[Kulhavy] The decision has been made. About 15 minutes ago, the Assembly deputies adopted an important law inevitable for the further progress of the economic reform: The law on the amendment of ownership relations to land.

Now let us look at the way the session proceeded:

Miroslav Tahy, chairman of the economic committee of the Chamber of Nations, took the floor this morning as a sponsor of the bill because, after a different result of voting on the original bill at the previous 14th meeting—let us recall that the Chamber of the People adopted the bill, but not the Chamber of Nations—the bill was discussed and additional work was done on it by the economic committees.

Miroslav Tahy summarized the main amendments to the original bill: The new bill leaves out the entire passage devoted to the transformation of founding cooperatives and replaces it with the so-called blocking paragraph [blokacni paragraf], which should prevent uncontrollable transfers of agricultural property until a new law on cooperative movement as a principle is adopted.

Amendments have also been made in the restitution part of the bill. On the one hand, a paragraph has been added which enables the original owners of an immovable agricultural asset to ask the court to abolish the ownership right of the physical person who came by this property in contradiction to the law on the basis of unlawful advantage. On the other hand, the new bill omits the paragraph which enables the original owner to become a member of a cooperative on the basis of land ownership. Instead, a term of property share expressible in financial terms and numbers is introduced. Another change: The new law on land gives authority to the Czech and Slovak National Councils to deal with their own legal provisions with the return of agricultural property to Hungarians and Germans, but only to those who were not transferred abroad in 1945 and who proclaimed themselves citizens of the Czechoslovak state.

Representatives of 12 parliamentary deputy clubs then took the floor. On behalf of their numbers, most of them supported the law on land, and it seemed that further discussion would proceed smoothly. A further 31 deputies spoke in the discussion and 34 amending laws were tabled, and a vote had to be taken on each of them in the afternooon. Let us mention one which changes more substantially the content of the previous version: Deputy Voscek proposed that a person with a right to have property returned can exercise this right until 31 September 1992.

At the end, I only want to repeat that the law on the amendment of ownership relations to land was adopted a short while ago.

[Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 21 May adds in a similar report: "Following a two-hour marathon of voting on amendment motions, the Federal Assembly joint meeting started to vote on the government-sponsored bill on land as a whole. Of 256 deputies present, 184 voted to endorse the bill, 31 were against, and—a rather high percentage—40 deputies abstained."]

## Dobrovsky Submits Army Laws to Federal Assembly

*AU2205085691 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 May 91 pp 1, 2*

[Alena Polovickova report: "It Was Often Impossible To Believe One's Ears Yesterday...."]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky made a total of three appearances before the deputies yesterday with a package of military laws. He appeared first with an amendment to the law on some service conditions for soldiers. Its principle significant changes particularly concern three of the most important sectors:

—Setting a minimum 10-year service period for career soldiers, instead of the current obligatory period served until reaching the age limit determined by the rank achieved;

—The military discipline law—which amends punishments for military misdemeanors (for example, the highest ruling for a disciplinary punishment of imprisonment has been reduced from 21 to 14 days)—humanizes the procedure and expands the possibilities for appealing against all disciplinary punishments;

—The possibility of a soldier using a weapon in active service while carrying out order enforcement, guard, escort, and supervisory duties has been amended.

In the lively debate that got under way after the rapporteurs gave their reports, an argument developed around the point that "soldiers should be excluded from private enterprise." As it turned out, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is already dealing with this issue and it will be explained in detail in the law on state service that should soon come onto the Federal Assembly forum. Another in the series of military laws was the government draft law that amends and supplements the defense law. The need to adopt amendments has arisen especially on account of the current situation in international relations and their expected development, as well as on account of the changes in the jurisdiction of the territorial administration organs. According to L. Dobrovsky, the amendment to the law should increase citizens' legal certainties; it takes the Czechoslovak Army's needs under the new conditions into consideration and it simplifies some administrative processes connected in particular with allocating financial and material resources. The fact that the amendment takes into consideration the possibility of appealing against an enlistment decision—ensuing from our citizens' rights and

liberties—is not without interest. The aim of this amendment is to create more favorable conditions for citizens' service in the Armed Forces. The deputies adopted this already amended law.

The amendment to the law on defense education was given exactly the opposite reception. Not only did the deputies not adopt the amendment, they revoked the entire law. Why? As it turned out, this element of teaching no longer exists in school curricula in the Czech republic (its useful elements have been divided into subjects—civil teaching, physical education, and geography). According to Zdenek Bruzek (Civic Forum): "Love for one's homeland and determination to defend it when it is under threat should not be decreed by some law. This comes as a result of a long period of education and activity in families and schools." [passage omitted]

### Czech Interior Minister on 'Alarming' Security

*LD2105223491 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 21 May 91*

[Excerpts] The 18th session of the Czech National Council opened in Prague this morning. In the introduction to the session, Deputy Stank proposed to include on the agenda the republic government's report on the preparation of measures for the possible separation of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. He also demanded that the deliberations on this point be closed to the public. The Czech National Council adopted his proposal and put it as point eight on its agenda. [passage omitted]

Topic number one in the Czech legislature was the security situation. Tomas Sokol, minister of interior of the Czech republic, submitted the report and explained it. He described the current state of affairs as unprecedented, alarming, and actually approaching the scale of a crisis. He gave a detailed analysis of the security situation. He said that crime rose last year by as much as 80 percent. He emphasized in this connection that the Romanies were responsible for over 18 percent.

The afternon session was marked by harsh criticism of the ministry and above all the police. Mayor of Prague Jan Koran and Jiri Miller, former chairman of the Institute for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, started a critical campaign.

### Klaus Refutes Koruna Devaluation Rumors

*AU2105152791 Prague CTK in English 1351 GMT 17 May 91*

[Text] Prague May 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said here today Czechoslovakia "does not plan any devaluation of the koruna. The balance of payments in the first four months of 1991 is so satisfactory that there is no reason to change anything on its exchange rate".

In an interview for CTK, Klaus said that since May 1, 1991 the "imports surcharge" has been reduced from 20 to 18 percent. He believed that another decrease to 15 percent would be approved at the session of the Financial Council on May 20. "In fact it means the revaluation (of the koruna)", Klaus said.

### Socialist, Agrarian Parties Form Coalition

*LD2105183691 Prague CTK in English 1536 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Prague May 21 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSSS) and the Agrarian Party (ZS) have agreed to form a coalition, called the Liberal Social Union (LSU), and fight next year's parliamentary election campaign with a joint election programme and a joint list of candidates.

The agreement, signed May 20, provides for the absolute internal independence of the two parties, and coalition membership is open to other political parties.

CSSS press spokesman Jiri Muller told CTK that the coalition will defend middle- and lower-class interests.

Parliamentary elections are scheduled for June 1992.

### ZDS on Carnogursky's Allegations Against Meciar

*AU2205080891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 May 91 p 2*

[Movement for Democratic Slovakia declaration: "Meciar is Clean"]

[Text] Prague— The Club of Deputies of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] in the Federal Assembly rejects the conjectures, speculations, or even allegations expressed by Mr. Ivan Carnogursky in the article published in NARODNA OBRODA on 13 May 1991 as completely false. The directly and indirectly stated conjectures about the chairman of our Movement's—Deputy Vladimir Meciar's—cooperation with State Security members—or even with the KGB—immediately affect us. They alone could be conceived as a basis for criminal prosecution. The fact that Deputy Meciar has been screened at least four times—that is, when taking over the post of Slovak republic interior minister, when he ran in the elections as a Federal Assembly candidate, when he was elected Slovak government prime minister, and, in recent months, as a Federal Assembly deputy—and that he always came out clean, without any indication of cooperation with the aforementioned organizations, unequivocally testifies to the fact that Mr. Meciar has been falsely accused by Mr. Carnogursky of this cooperation. On the other hand, it ensues from Mr. Carnogursky's "own confession" in the aforementioned article that his past cannot be considered as "immaculate" as that of Mr. Meciar's. It would be more acceptable for the general public if he did not try to belittle and to hide his cooperation with the totalitarian regime, after 1969 in particular, by artificially enlarging the sphere of these collaborators and also including in it the "unknown lawyers from the outback" whom the totalitarian regime allowed to

work as company lawyers at most, but did not allow to participate in the construction of airports in Iraq or trips to Canada, etc.

### Commentary Criticizes Czech Constitution Agreement

*AU2205083691 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 May 91 p 1*

[Stefan Hrcka commentary: "A Machiavellian (Not State) Agreement"]

[Text] Several draft treaties and agreements between the Slovak National Council [SNR] and Czech National Council [CNR] on the CSFR's constitutional and legal arrangement were discussed at Friday's [10 May] meeting in Lany involving the president and representatives from the government coalitions. One draft for a possible agreement was presented by CNR Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova on behalf of the Czech representatives. (CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky came up with another one. The Public Against Violence movement submitted a sort of theoretical basis for a possible agreement and—long before this—the Christian Democratic Movement had "unexpectedly forged" its own draft state treaty) The CNR and SNR draft (not state) agreement put forward by Dagmar Buresova proves that the reports about Machiavellian paragraphs are true. According to the draft, each of the two republics—that is, a joint union between the Czech republic and the Slovak republic—can disestablish the CSFR on the basis of a general referendum involving its citizens. However, immediately after this we come across an inconspicuous twist—this is possible under conditions determined by the CSFR Constitution. This constitution is to be adopted by the Federal Assembly and it, in turn, is to specify the conditions under which it itself may be abolished. Will the Federal Assembly not endeavor either to adopt more or less unfulfillable conditions or to reject such a constitution that would make its potential abolition possible?

Another stipulation—changes to the CSFR Constitution will, in the future, require the agreement of both republics—uncovers a further hitch. According to the draft, the agreement of both republics will not be necessary for the adoption of the CSFR Constitution. That is, the Federal Assembly can adopt a constitution that will suit it alone. And it is no secret that "Prague" has already nurtured more than one so-called Federal Slovak who agrees with everything pro-federal because he only looks at Slovakia from his government seat and through his pocket.

However, it is especially incomprehensible that jurisdiction should be divided between the Federation and the republics—in essence—according to the so-called jurisdiction law. After all, when the law was adopted in December 1990, it was said that this is only the first stage in dividing jurisdiction and the second stage will take place when the new CSFR Constitution is adopted.

The phrase that "the restrictions on the republics' independence will be compensated for by their participation in implementing the joint state's jurisdiction" is absolutely absurd. By the way, in the proposed joint agreement, the Czech and Slovak republics are supposed to undertake to also respect this principle in their constitutions. What do these stipulations mean? That the republics have to agree in advance to the Federation being able to arbitrarily restrict their independence? This principle reminds me too much of the president's recent vision that it is necessary to draw the republics into decision making at a federal level. In turn, this vision—unfortunately—reminds me far too much of the recently deceased democratic centralism. Notwithstanding, the paragraphs in the (not state) agreement are Machiavellian, and cunning people know how to cunningly formulate them and then use (or abuse?) them. z

## Kadar on End of CEMA; Trade Ties With USSR

*LD1905072391 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 May 91*

[Interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Attila Csaszar; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] According to the Soviet Government's promise, beginning next week, they will be able to pay those Hungarian enterprises that have been exporting to the neighboring country and have not yet received payment for goods. According to International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar, who returned from Moscow today, this year's trade turnover with the Soviet Union is only one-seventh of what it was three years ago.

[Csaszar] Did you manage to resolve the still outstanding differences of views regarding assets at the discussions with representatives of the CEMA member states?

[Kadar] We did not wish now to resolve the differences of views regarding assets. In parallel with the draft resolution on the dissolution of the CEMA, however, we discussed the organization and operation of a winding-up committee. This winding-up committee will deal with CEMA assets and other legal financial problems. The first session of this winding-up committee will be held here in Budapest immediately after the winding-up of the CEMA.

[Csaszar] In that case, the consultative body which will pronounce the cessation of this organization will meet in June.

[Kadar] Yes, on 28 June.

[Csaszar] After the cessation of the association, do the former CEMA members wish to set up an organization similar, perhaps, to the EEC?

[Kadar] So far we have only exchanged preliminary ideas about how the individual countries, which are today still CEMA countries, conceive the new forms, basic principles, of cooperation in Eastern Europe in the present changing situation.

[Csaszar] Another important issue was the future shaping of Hungarian-Soviet relations. Did you manage to make progress in this and if so, with what results?

[Kadar] We clarified the problems, we clarified the Hungarian needs. We pointed out that the realization of the Soviet promises made in the course of our earlier discussions, and the implementation of government decisions, are very slow. There has been some movement by now, however, in consecutive months, from the viewpoint of Hungarian export. This trade is still only one-seventh of what it was in the last big year, in 1989—in '88, '89. [passage omitted]

## Official on Trade Problems With USSR

*LD2005222491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 20 May 91*

[Julia Torday report]

[Summary] "The Soviet Union owes approximately 1.7 billion transferable rubles, and to this day we have not managed to agree on the repayment of the debt or the installment payment on the interests of the debt, Lajos Berenyi, deputy state secretary for the Ministry of International Economic Relations, stated at the consultation." Bilateral trade dropped again significantly in the last four months because of Soviet payment difficulties, and the Hungarian exports to there did not amount to even half the imports. Berenyi said that Hungary expects that Gorbachev's ban on barter trade, which makes trade more difficult, will soon be lifted. In some areas exceptions are already being made.

Speaking about the CEMA, officially to dissolve on 28 June, Berenyi said: "Hungary would like in place of the CEMA a loose economic alliance, a kind consultative forum of the East European countries to be created."

[Announcer] "According to report just received, the Soviet Union will no longer barter in foreign trade. This has been stated by the deputy chief of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Speaking at the Budapest session of the Soviet-Hungarian section of the Hungarian Economic Chamber, Viktor Aristov added that as yet the specific implementational directive of the decree is lacking, and the tax on barter trade is still valid. He also said that owing to the payment difficulties, only 11 of the 80 Hungarian-Soviet joint ventures established so far are operative."

## EBRD's Nemeth on Policy Concerning Country

*AU2205091291 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 May 91 p 9*

[Interview with Miklos Nemeth, deputy chairman of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), by Lorinc Szendrei, in London; date not given: "A Bank for Central And Eastern Europe"—first three paragraphs are MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] It is exactly one month since various heads of state and government from the whole world flocked together and met in London. A month ago, Great Britain's prime minister issued an invitation to celebrate the opening of a financial institution whose aim it is to further restructuring in the countries of Eastern Europe, as well as to modernize economic and social structures.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] was born on 15 April 1991. Hungary's former prime minister Miklos Nemeth is one of the EBRD's deputy chairmen. Nemeth granted us an interview in the EBRD's central office in London. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] What can the countries of Eastern Europe—including Hungary—expect from the EBRD?

[Nemeth] We have priorities in this domain. First, I could mention our contribution to the areas of finance, government, and directing, which all form part of a market economy's system of institutions. Financial restructuring and modifications in national banking systems are very important in this sphere. Second, it is important to create financial institutions, stock markets, as well as bond markets, and to link these to the outside world. Some of these concepts already sound familiar in Hungary, but they are not yet known in other countries. Naturally, some adjustments and developments still need to take place in Hungary—in our banking system, for example. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] People often make the bitter criticism that the pace of economic transformation is much slower than the speed at which political structures are being modified. Could the EBRD speed up this slow pace?

[Nemeth] As a catalyst, the EBRD is also offering to play a pioneering role. It can gather scattered resources on the money market and try to use these in the region of Central and Eastern Europe; however, you have to count on the fact that the EBRD will make evaluations of the countries in question. We will conduct a yearly study to establish the extent to which the economic policies of individual governments further our basic priorities and aims. We will assess the way in which internal and external debts are being managed, and we will examine whether or not privatization and private initiative are being encouraged. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] To what extent are Hungarian business people displaying an interest in the EBRD's services and activities?

[Nemeth] I personally receive all sorts of letters and telephone calls. It would be premature to qualify these inquiries at this stage. People are not yet aware of the formal requirements that would enable them to draft individual proposals. The EBRD needs to open local offices to inform people of the techniques and ways in which proposals can be drafted. Nevertheless, we can already see that there is an enormous amount of interest. On the one hand, there is a shortage of funds, but on the other hand, people are visibly trying to rearrange their relations and their businesses. This shows that the EBRD can count on people's willingness to act.

[Szendrei] The EBRD started off with a capital of 10 billion ECU's [European Currency Units] ($13 billion). Compared to Hungary's debt of $24 billion, that is a considerable figure. Nevertheless, EBRD Chairman Mr. Attali wants to see this figure increase as soon as possible.

[Nemeth] If we consider the tasks ahead of us, the aforementioned figure is a drop in the ocean. That is why we are already applying for credits on the international money market this year. According to realistic calculations, in a few years' time, we should be able to double the initial figure by taking up credits—maybe we will even have increased the original figure by five.

[Szendrei] Hungary's contribution to the EBRD's starting capital only amounts to 0.79 percent of the total. Will this lead to any disadvantages in the EBRD's future assessment of Hungary?

[Nemeth] Not at all. It is interesting to note that the European Communities, the Common Market, and the European Investment Bank together hold more than 51 percent of the EBRD's shares. In other words, the EBRD is a real European bank. Nevertheless, the EBRD's founders also include Israel, Australia, and Mexico. There are altogether 39 countries and two international organizations involved. [passage omitted]

## Invitation to Romanian President Welcomed

*AU2205073691 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 May 91 p 7*

[Gyorgy Fodor editorial: "He Comes And Does Not Come"]

[Text] One looks up suddenly nowadays on hearing the news that the Hungarian prime minister has invited the Romanian head of state to visit Budapest. One is all ears in such cases because almost nothing has happened in the relations between these two neighboring countries since the Romanian revolution, and sober people in both countries are ashamed of what did happen. Is it possible that something is now happening at long last? Naturally, it is also interesting that Prime Minister Antall is exchanging letters with President Iliescu. This is a smaller problem of the new Hungarian Republic, and the usual explanation is that Hungary's constitutional order is different from that of other countries. (The prime minister is in practice the head of foreign policy activity.) Of course, officials in the presidential office say that it is customary for a president to write a letter to another president, all the more so in the case of official invitations. This, however, is only an issue of protocol.

In other words, everyone who would like to have good neighborly relations with Romania—at long last—rather than arguments, is very attentive now. Will the usual scenario repeat itself? According to the previous scenarios, if an official Hungarian personality hinted that we would like to improve our relations with Bucharest, the immediate Romanian reply would claim that Budapest was bending over backwards to please Bucharest, thus proving the correctness of consistent Romanian foreign policy. According to the aforementioned scenario, Hungary would deny this by saying that responsible government officials only opened the door and offered Romania the chance to finally overcome the period of controversy and start behaving like neighbors.

The Hungarian side will be willing to hold a high-level dialogue only if decisions are made on genuine steps—

this is what the officials in Budapest say on every such occasion, but we still do not know what they mean by this. Besides, has our prime minister really invited the Romanian president to Hungary? He has and he has not. He invited him, but we do not know whether he really wants him to come here for a visit. Of course, something might really happen this time. Another small piece of news allows us to draw that conclusion; namely that, with his ship, the Romanian defense minister "conquered" Budapest and met with [Hungarian Defense Minister] Lajos Fur on board. One looks up suddenly when hearing news of such invitations, but one would be happier if the officials at long last announced the timing of the Romanian leader's visit and the issues that need settling in the sphere of neglected bilateral relations. Then perhaps we would no longer hear the old refrain in Romania either. Then the [Hungarian Television foreign affairs program] Panorama would interview [Romanian writer] Andras Suto about rose gardening, Bishop Laszlo Tokes could also speak once about religious life instead of politics, and [Romanian Prime Minister] Petre Roman would cut the inaugurating ribbon of the Hungarian Consulate in Kolozsvar [Cluj] and later go fishing to the Danube Bend, while [Hungarian President] Arpad Goncz would translate Romanian writers.

In other words, it would be very good to see President Iliescu here, and if he came, it would not really matter who invited him.

### Intercounty Agreement Signed With Romania

*LD2105171691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] The self-government of County Bekes this morning signed a cooperation agreement with the leaders of the neighboring Romanian county, Bihor. Eva Cseh has the details:

[Cseh] Apart from economic and cultural relations, both sides will cooperate in establishing mother-tongue teaching for the Romanian and Hungarian national minorities living on their territories, while in Oradea and Bekescsaba an information office will help the various business connections of the two counties' towns. Sarkad and Salonta have already concluded a contract. The former town's plant will get timber and limestone from Salonta in exchange for ventilation equipment and sugar. The prefect of Oradea, who arrived in Bekescsaba with a large entourage, including parliamentary deputies, the chairman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, and journalists, said he will do everything possible so the old border crossing between Sarkad and Salonta, which are 14 km apart, can be reopened as soon as possible.

### Reportage of Jeszenszky Visit to Western Europe

*WA2105170591*

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to Italy to attend a meeting of the Pentagonal and to Austria to meet with Foreign Minister Alois Mock, see the Austria and International Affairs sections of the 20 May West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

### Antall Interviewed on Ties With EC, NATO

*PM2105142691 Paris LE MONDE in French 21 May 91 pp 1, 4*

[Interivew with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Jose-Alain Fralon and Sylvie Kauffmann in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Budapest—[LE MONDE] One year after the introduction of legislative democracy, the Hungarians are the most disillusioned people in the former socialist bloc according to several opinion polls. The rate of participation in the last legislative by-elections was less than 25 percent. Does this disinterest worry you?

[Antall] It is true that the population's state of mind and confidence is not at its highest, but it is not as simple as the opinion polls say. The changes in Hungary are the result of a long period of negotiations, during which the communist dictatorship was moderated; the people did not experience this period as an era of revolutionary upheavals and simply watched the changes made thanks to the action of various intellectual and political groups. In addition, the Kadarist model successfully manipulated society; I think it was your newspaper that invented the term "Kadarization," which I think is very appropriate to describe this post-Stalinist period. It had two foundations—the depoliticization of the population and the stabilization of living standards in such a way as to give people security; furthermore, the Hungarians were allowed to travel to the West from time to time. This relative comfort was obtained at the cost of a $21 billion foreign debt only part of which was invested profitably while the rest served to keep an obsolete industry alive. At the same time, the government did not prepare the population for the problems that would stem from this high debt.

Back in the seventies, however, it was clear that the backwardness of the Hungarian economy would lead to crisis; but throughout Kadar's reign and until 1988, nobody said anything about that. Even after Kadar's fall, no measure was taken; we had to wait until Miklos Nemeth's government for the first steps to be taken. On the whole, the population was not ready to face the heavy burdens of change. We had no Solidarity-style organization, we did not have any revolutionary transition as in Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, or the GDR. In our country it all happened peacefully and in a negotiated way.

[LE MONDE] So there was no abrupt change?

[Antall] There was, because the opposition did not participate in the Nemeth transitional government and the current team does not include anybody who has ever been a Communist. The political break was therefore very clear. The people, who had grown accustomed to going to Austria,

sometimes every day, simply thought that they were going to start living like the Austrians overnight.

When we created the Democratic Forum in 1987-1988, we thought that the fall of the communist regime would take longer; the Western secret services and politicians expected an even longer period! If God spares me, I will write in my memoirs how many leaders, still in office today, tried to dissuade us from taking a firm line with the USSR and the communist system.... Thinking that we had even longer to wait, we therefore were not able to organize society or prepare for the changes. The trade union problem, for instance, has still not been solved: The former official trade union movement is deteriorating, two other trade union movements have emerged but nobody really knows how big they are. There is the same disillusionment in East Germany: Where I saw people virtually kissing Chancellor Kohl's hand in June 1990, they are now throwing eggs at him.

Pessimism is also a question of national character. A Pole can be more optimistic, even if he has nothing.... I remember during the war when we saved Polish refugees they had high morale, and we who had saved them were pessimistic! In Hungary, all the big national recovery movements have emerged in an atmosphere of pessimism. This Hungarian character trait is also reflected in the high suicide rate which we see not only here but among emigres, irrespective of which country they are living in. This taste for sacrifice means that we are excellent soldiers and hussars....

[LE MONDE] Is this frustration not likely to be exploited by movements advocating a return to the old order? How do you intend to win over those disappointed by liberalism?

[Antall] Generally speaking, the standard of living has increased for 10 percent of the population, has fallen for 30 percent of people, and has remained the same for 60 percent. Psychologically this stagnation is seen negatively: For the first time in 20 years, there is a balance of payments surplus, the budget year has ended virtually without deficit, thousands of new small enterprises have been set up and, compared with the whole of the former socialist camp, including the USSR, more than 50 percent of foreign investments have been in Hungary. People are more skeptical and dissatisfied whereas people in neighboring countries may be more optimistic although the situation is more serious.

The Marxist party (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—LE MONDE editor's note) only obtained 3.5 percent in the last elections and only has the support of those who benefited directly under the former regime. The Hungarian Socialist Party, which says it is a social democratic party obtained around 12 percent. Of course, former Communists are engaging in social demagoguery, which is very easy at the present time. Friends kindly come and tell me that they often hear people say "Under Kadar, such and such a thing would not have happened to me...." I reply: "The difference is that now you can come and tell me!" I do not believe in the danger of the restoration of a Communist regime which, moreover, could never have been imposed in Hungary without Soviet force. The people are reasonable when it comes to deciding on major questions.

[LE MONDE] The former nomenklatura is apparently suffering less from the transition than other social categories and is readjusting fairly well. Does that present you with a morale problem?

[Antall] It is true, we have the impression that the jailer is enjoying a better fate than the people he put in prison. In a rule-of-law state it is difficult to take back what has been given, just as in a period of economic crisis it is difficult to compensate those who have suffered. Yes, the nomenklatura has adapted well; those people have a great spirit of solidarity, good relations, and they systematically prepared the ground for their redeployment. If they had shown equal talent for the country's good, we would not be in this position....

**Relations With the USSR**

Unfortunately, they had some property that they could use when privatization came. Joint enterprises or those with Western capital readily employed them: They knew the area and have no complexes; they are very good partners for foreign businessmen because they have no backbone and, therefore, do everything they are asked without having any scruples about their country. I do not think your new prime minister would keep many in view of the importance she attaches to national independence! Those Communists who were devoted to Marx and socialism, have opted for capital.... They are in the forefront of privatization, and this gives the people a great feeling of discontent and injustice. It is true that in the West a large proportion of billionaires are probably not proud of their grandfathers....

[LE MONDE] Of the new Central European democracies, Hungary seems the most anxious to join the EEC. What deadline have you set for achieving that?

[Antall] I think that "association membership" will be concluded in fall 1991, which is already a promise of full membership. Without naming any country, association does not necessarily lead to membership. This association could come into force in 1992. Austria and Sweden were due to join in 1995 and, in accordance with the view expressed by several Western politicians our turn will come around 1997 or 1998. This involves adapting our economy, our thinking, our legal apparatus, our education system and so forth. Of course, it also depends on EEC decisions without forgetting the security dimension.

[LE MONDE] When will you join NATO?

[Antall] NATO is of the highest importance. It is one of the main guarantees of European security. I support the

*U.S presence in Europe, which is another guarantee. We* explained that to the Soviets last year. At the same time, it would be unrealistic for the former socialist countries to join NATO now. We must therefore set up a security system on the basis of the Helsinki process based on bilateral treaties with the USSR, our neighbors, and the Western countries.

Within NATO, consideration must be given to the organization's limits, the direction in which it wishes to progress, whether it is seeking bilateral relations.... In any event, I was the first leader of a former socialist country to visit NATO headquarters in Brussels and to have sought permanent contacts with it. At the same time, we are trying to find an accord with the Soviet Union, we are trying to conclude bilateral agreements with it and with our Central European neighbors.

[LE MONDE] You refused to sign the treaty that the Soviets offered you because it contained too binding a security clause. Has there been any progress on this matter?

[Antall] We want to sign a good treaty, which does not limit our national sovereignty or our chances of joining European organizations. We are convinced that the USSR will understand that, and we are convinced that the Soviet government is pursuing a wise and reasonable policy, although some of the people who have expressed a view on this subject went much further, making it a matter of prestige. Romania signed the formula which we and other similar countries are rejecting. We are basing our policy on Central Europe's geographical position: Russia and hence the USSR is our neighbor and will continue to be our neighbor. As Finnish President Kekkonen said, many things can be affect geography but politics is not one of them.

[LE MONDE] Do you think you might visit Romania one day? Has President Iliescu replied to your invitation?

[Antall] I met Mr. Iliescu in London and handed him a letter. I naturally advocate the normalization of our relations with Romania, but high-level visits only have any meaning if they are well prepared and produce practical results. For instance, the reopening of the Kolozsvar (Cluj) consulate which was closed by Ceausescu, is a precondition. There is a German consulate there which is open; why could there not be a Hungarian consulate there since there are more than 2 million Hungarians in Transylvania? Cultural questions and questions relating to the Hungarian minority must be settled. We are not trying to isolate Romania because that would amount to isolating the Hungarian minority, but we want to make practical progress, proceeding in an honest way.

## Jeszenszky on Foreign Policy, General Public

*AU2105195191 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 15 May 91 p 4*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Laszlo Tabori; place and date not given: "Everyday Diplomacy in The Service of The Population"]

[Text] [Tabori] Having seen the events of the last few weeks, the always active Hungarian diplomacy seems to be going through an especially busy period.

[Jeszenszky] From time to time, the foreign minister or his colleagues seem to appear in the press a lot more. I am not talking only about sensations but also about the fact that events can pile up sometimes. Occasionally, my duties call me abroad for longer periods, and at other times there are more diplomatic events in Hungary, so my presence becomes stronger at home. The recent period has been characterized by the latter. I would like to stress that, according to our aims, the activities of the Foreign Ministry and our foreign policy no longer represent a mystical and baffling thing for the average Hungarian citizen today, and one can feel that they all serve the interests of the average citizen. This is the reason frequent press statements, interviews, various forums, and meetings are important. Your question may have referred to the recent period being full of these kinds of events.

[Tabori] What events do you think were important in the last few days?

[Jeszenszky] I would mention the Sopron forum, in which I participated with [Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman] Gyula Horn, and the meeting in Debrecen. We talked about many issues that the public is interested in and they show concern about. There was also an important meeting in Kalocsa, where a twin-town agreement was signed with a town in Baden-Wurttemberg.

[Tabori] As far as I know, the town in question is Kirchheim.

[Jeszenszky] Yes, it is. A large part of the population is affected by the relations between the two towns. Baden-Wurttemberg and other German laender played a great role in repopulating the empty villages of the Alfold after the Turkish wars.

[Tabori] I think this is the right time to set up such partnerships because they can also help prevent the violation of human rights, and they can assist in getting to know each other better. In fact, we could say they assist us in our true recognition.

[Jeszenszky] That is true. This agreement also indicates that they do not simply make contact with each other, but people's everyday life is also affected in these towns by a more permanent contact.

[Tabori] You will participate in the next session of the Pentagonal in Bologna over the weekend.

[Jeszenszky] Yes, the foreign ministers of the Pentagonal member states will be meeting in Bologna. I would like to draw attention to that part of the Pentagonal's work, which gives special emphasis to cooperation and results in the improvement of the areas on both sides of the border; and that discussions on such economic issues are on the agenda, which directly influence and affect the everyday life of the population. Highway construction, railway agreements, and several new border crossings are some of these issues.

[Tabori] Poland will also participate as an observer in this meeting.

[Jeszenszky] It was the Hungarian prime minister who raised the issue at the Venice meeting and said that Hungary considered it important and supported Poland's participation in the Pentagonal's work. This suggestion seems to have met with wide support. Our relations with Poland have a great chance to become even stronger through this.

[Tabori] Thank you for the interview.

### Upcoming Changes in Radio Reported

*LD2105222491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 21 May 91*

[Excerpts] A news conference was held today in Hungarian radio. The recently appointed directors of the Kossuth, Petofi and Bartok radios outlined their ideas. Julia Torda sums up the planned changes.

[Torda] It is not the controlers fully in charge of three radio stations completely independent of each other whom I am now introducing to you, but the would-be directors of the Kossuth, the Petofi, the Bartok radios and the literature editorial department. The Hungarian Radio continues to remain united. Privatization endeavors or intentions are out of the question, Csaba Gombar, chairman of Hungarian Radio, explained at the news conference.

From the autumn the individual stations' character will be more marked. [passage omitted] The Kossuth Radio wil be political, informative. Based on British, German and Austrian models, the main emphasis will be on impartiality and objectivity. In addition to political analytic and debating programs there will be economic and religious newsreels. According to plans, a daily 30 minutes will be devoted to Hungarians living beyond our borders, and on five days a week 50 minutes a day will be given over to provincial studios. [passage omitted]

Something we have heard from Csaba Gombar is also worth mentioning. The Hungarian Radio is not in debt, nor has it stepped beyond its own financial limits; however, it still has been unable to agree about the future with the broadcasting enterprise. He also added that the nomination of directors is a professional matter he has not coordinated these with any political party. Although there are vacant posts in the higher leadership of the Hungarian Radio, the fulfilment of these must await the Radio Act. The chairman, in accordance with the 1974 decree of the Council of Ministers, will inform in detail the prime minister about the changes of the structure of the radio.

### Soldiers Replace Striking Garbage Collectors

*LD2105165291 Warsaw PAP in English 1146 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Warsaw, May 21—Warsaw garbage collectors continue today their seven-day old strike, demanding a 100 per cent pay rise, while city authorities took a firm stand in negotiations offering only a 400,000 zloty-rise for each worker.

In the light of the stalemate in negotiations and growing piles of uncollected garbage, city authorities asked the Warsaw Military District for help. The Army has already directed 150 trucks, 40 waste removing vehicles and 600 soldiers to start the cleaning up operation, military sources said today.

### Solidarity Plans 22 May Protest Actions

*LD2105204391 Warsaw PAP in English 1728 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Gdansk, May 21—Following a resolution of the Solidarity National Commission, an all-Poland protest action will be held throughout the country on Wednesday, May 22. In different forms Solidarity unions will protest against "errors in the economic and social policy of the government."

"The Solidarity protest action is not aimed against the government and does not intend to abolish it," Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski told a press conference here today.

"It took the union a year to decide to hold a protest action after all attempts to negotiate with the government had proved ineffective," he added.

"We have not been given a chance to participate in reforms although we have prepared many proposals and initiatives," Krzaklewski said. "Thus it is a protest of the union against disrespect showed by the authorities vis a vis our reformatory efforts. Our proposals, if used only in 20-30 percent, would help stabilize the situation in Poland," the Solidarity leader added.

"The Wednesday action is to channel social moods and prevent uncontrolled protests. It must be followed by a reaction of the government which must proceed with solving the problems," Krzaklewski said.

He explained that a meeting expected to take place between a Solidarity leadership delegation and President Lech Walesa could not have been held as planned before the protest action because both sides were very busy during the previous week.

On Wednesday, street demonstrations will be organised in the central cities of Warsaw, Lodz and Slupsk. A one-hour warning strike will be held in the Sendzimir steel mill of Nowa Huta in the southern city of Krakow. Also, a majority of enterprises in the Wroclaw province (western Poland) will announce a two-hour break in work in answer to the appeal of the Lower Silesian Solidarity authorities. A two-hour warning strike will be held in the Wujek colliery in the Katowice province in Silesia.

On the other hand, there will be no strikes in the Gdansk region where Solidarity factory committees decided to limit the protest to putting up flags, sounding alarms at noon and distributing leaflets explaining the reasons of the action.

### Strike Situation Termed 'Serious'

*LD2105204691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 21 May 91*

[Excerpts] A dozen or so draft laws and regulations have been accepted by the Council of Ministers, which has been meeting. [passage omitted] The Council of Ministers also discussed the current strike situation. Here is a statement for the press by Andrzej Zarebski, the government's spokesman:

[Zarebski] The situation could be regarded as serious, but not in the sense of threatening the government, as the government is not a party in these conflicts; quite simply the matter concerns the further fate of the reform. In these strikes the old is coming together with the new: the old structure, mentality, organization, and the new, which is dependent on improving management, accelerating the restructuring of enterprises, and accelerating privatization. Paradoxically, that is a positive incentive for the government's work. Today's Council of Ministers was devoted to passing a whole array of draft resolutions and regulations which are moving precisely in this direction. In the coming two weeks we will prepare a draft of a new law on communal enterprise and send it to the Sejm.

### Bielecki on Rumors of Government Resignation

*LD1905212591 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1750 GMT 19 May 91*

[Interview with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki by unidentified reporters; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, recently there have been some loud claims that on 23 May, at the next meeting of the Sejm, the government will resign in a spectacular manner. How much truth is there in these rumors?

[Bielecki] The government believes above all that it knows what it wants to do. That is why we have sent Parliament a whole program of decisions on restructuring. That is why we have made certain difficult decisions on, among other things, currency rates. I can say that although you can see a certain amount of speculating and expectation among parliamentarians, the government, in accordance with what I said earlier and what I want to support now, has been called by the president to perform a specific sevice, and with the best

will and greatest diligence wants to perform this service for as long as there is no victory for democracy in Poland, that is, until there are free elections.

[Reporter] One can conclude from this that there are no such plans and there were none before the economic conference.

[Bielecki] We had no such plans. It is difficult to be responsible for the plans of other political forces.

[Reporter] Who constitutes the greatest threat for the government at present? Is it the trade unions or parties and political groups?

[Bielecki] I think that definitely the biggest threat is the communist heritage.

[Reporter] At the moment the communists have no leading role and the government is criticized by the Solidarity trade union, which presumably is not run by the communists. It is also criticized by such political groups as the Center Alliance.

[Reporter] Is Solidarity the communist heritage?

[Bielecki] I am not talking about structures, I am talking about a certain way of thinking, and the trade unions must start thinking in the categories of a trade union movement, and such a trend is beginning to take over.

[Reporter] A protest action is planned for the 22d. Do you think that Solidarity's demands are right? Maciej Jankowski, the leader of the Mazowsze [Solidarity] region, said in a speech: We overthrew the communist government, so there will be no problem overthrowing this government.

[Bielecki] I agree that, technically speaking, there is no such problem, because, after all, this is the difference between us and the communist government. We do not want to force anything against the wishes of society. On the other hand, this is a reaction, perhaps to some government moves which are too slow, late or different from social expectations. I think that people would like to know that if things cannot improve quickly, then at least a lot is happening around them and a lot is changing.

On the other hand, trade unions have a right to express their views. I can say this: If someone thinks that we have reached the limit of social endurance, then he also should think about what will happen next.

[Reporter] Should there be a general strike in Poland? [Word indistinct] there can be such a situation?

[Bielecki] So what?

[Reporter] What will the government do then?

[Bielecki] I think a general strike would cancel our ability to implement economic policy, at least in this classical understanding of ours, the one in which we organized such strikes in the past. [as heard] Therefore, if this occurs it will be a sufficient reason for resignation.

[Reporter] At the moment, the president has opened a safety umbrella over the government, and Solidarity has just closed this umbrella. Which is better?

[Bielecki] I think that it is good that Solidarity does not open a safety umbrella. I think we can also stop opening the safety umbrella over Solidarity. We will speak clearly and frankly on how we intend to lead our policy and how we see the purity of the role of government, or between an employer and an employee. This, after all, concerns our relations with other trade unions. It is very good that finally we are reaching a situation in which everyone has his own role to play and is responsible for it.

[Reporter] You have stressed many times that President Walesa is the only support the government can have. Are you afraid that at a certain point, when social discontent reaches a certain threshold, the president will recall a theory of buffers and will throw you to the lions?

[Bielecki] The president is conducting a policy aimed supremely at leading Poland through a difficult period of reform. If I look at it this way, this matter would, for me, be connected with my opportunism. I can give you a different answer. I can answer you as follows: In such a case, if in a miraculous way, suddenly, sometime around April popularity ratings sprang up, then I would immediately make use of this and leave, and begin to build the Liberal and Democratic Congress.

[Reporter] No, you would not, because it is believed that as prime minister you will be a driving force for the Liberal and Democratic Congress.

[Bielecki] Yes, but as a prime minister who is threatened by a mass of difficulties which, according to me, are subjective and objective, I can boldly assume that this high April popularity rating will start falling. It has already fallen by 10 percent. So theoretically, one can say that I missed my best time to go.

I have been late with the departure, which still could have been justified by the lack of possibilities to exert an influence on the legislature, the lack of a parliamentary majority, disagreement with Belweder [president's office] for example, and a lack of understanding by the public. This would have been a classic mixture of opportunism and demagogy, but I think most necessary from the point of view of building the Liberal Congress.

[Reporter] Yesterday, at the economic meeting, you spoke about a legislative barrier, about a large number of bills which must be passed by the Sejm, but which have been obstructed in the Sejm. Was it an appeal for granting the government the right to rule by economic decrees?

[Bielecki] I believe that the government should not ask and will not ask Parliament for extraordinary powers. We must do everything to maintain a dialogue with the

legislature, although, due to the need for work on the electoral law, our paths have diverged to some extent.

[Reporter] Prime Minister, do you think that there is one more very serious threat—the behavior of some government ministers, which has been received by some members of the public as disloyalty toward you and the government? I am talking about Minister Glapinski and Minister Chrzanowski.

[Beliecki] I think, and I talked about it with my colleague ministers, that the responsibility for Poland, for the job entrusted to us, must prevail in a team such as the Council of Ministers. The problem is that membership in a different party cannot interfere in our basic way of functioning.

[Reporter] Often it does interfere.

[Beliecki] I think it is often seen by journalists in this way because they want to see sensation in every issue and they pursue something new because the news is what matters for you. I think that the course of a recent meeting of the Council of Ministers, during which we put some things in order, testifies to the will of colleagues belonging to different groups for joint action, for action aimed at restructuring the Polish economy.

[Reporter] So, you are not alarmed by your ministers.

[Beliecki] I am used to difficult situations and to searching for agreement. Compromise is the most important formula for functioning. Even if there are tensions, they are not just within the government, but everywhere in Poland. We must try to look for the formula which will allow the best possible functioning of the government.

[Reporter] But Mr. Prime Minister, if Minister Glapinski in a TV interview last week distances himself from the government and speaks about the need for the government to make a breakthrough—he even criticized in a veiled way, but he did criticize Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz's policy—then this perhaps is something which does not fit into the framework of what is permissible?

[Beilecki] Yes, but in a second interview he developed this thought and explained that such a breakthrough is impossible without a parliamentary majority.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] With Minister Glapinski. Everyone knows that on Monday evening you summoned Minister Glapinski about this TV statement. So not everything is normal here.

[Bielecki] Yes, but I think that the main point here is how we want to see the man. If we want to look at his weaknesses, then we will always find lots of them and we can say a lot of bad things about everyone. I think that this is a dominant trend in Polish thinking. People have strong sides too. Minister Glapinski has a lot of precious good features. I am looking for a compromise. I am not looking at this one-sidedly. I am not carried away at this moment by my emotions, because for me the most important thing is for the Ministry of Housing and Construction, as it is known at the moment, and town and country planning, to function well.

[Reporter] Coming back to the lack of patience in society, do you think that the fruit of the promises made during the electoral campaign is ripening now? That this was going to be the government of acceleration, but in fact is the government of continuation. Some say that this is the government of survival.

[Bielecki] One can have different assessments. I do not favor breakthroughs or acceleration. I favor consistent work. This is the process, the challenge before Poland is the process for a decade, for years. If we have significant success in the next few years, then we can be grateful that we managed to do what many countries have failed to do.

[Reporter] So you think that this current criticism of the government is demagogy and an electoral game before the coming elections?

[Bielecki] It is difficult to give such a clear statement here. I think the transformation of the Polish economy is the task for a genious, the biggest genious in the world economy.

This is a great experiment, during which one undoubtedly makes errors. We have also made errors, and errors were made earlier. For the majority of the public a general assesment exists covering the period beginning 11 September when the first Solidarity government was formed. It makes it more difficult for me, but this is the way the public sees the period of transformation.

[Reporter] Do you think, Mr. Prime Minister, that you and your government will win the Nobel [Prize]?

[Bielecki] Certainly I am not a candidate for the Nobel [Prize], as I am not in charge of economic policy. I think that many moves by Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz are unprecedented and are highly and positively appraised all over the world among many economists. Most of the decisions, at the outset in particular, were made with considerable risk; the decisions were made intuitively. Today too, some reactions, sometimes too emotive, are caused by the fact that adapting our reality to market economy conditions has been very complex and connected with thousands of unpredictable events requiring rapid corrections.

[Reporters] Thank you.

### Majewski Refuses To Reveal Former Agents

*LD1705101991 Warsaw PAP in English 2310 GMT 16 May 91*

[Test] Warsaw, May 16—The Sejm (Lower House) today listened to Internal Minister Henryk Majewski telling the deputies why he will never disclose the identities of the agents of former Secret Police (sB) and its informers.

Minister Majewski was answering a question from Solidarity Deputy Jan Beszta-Borowski who asked for the list of names only to his own knowledge and only from the north-eastern Province of Bialystok but also demanded explanation on the case of former intelligence agent Marian Zacharski who operated in the U.S. and later was made head of the "Pewex" hard currency shops network only before communism's overthrow in Poland. Majewski denied Zacharski had ever worked for the KGB.

The minister warned that disclosing the classified files would be wrong for legal, social, political and moral reasons and also misleading because many particularly valuable agents have never been registered, while others were never actually recruited but only their names put on the record by dishonest functionaries seeking promotion and thus many innocent persons might be branded as communist secret agents.

The classified files are of great value for defence, and state security, they include some 3 million names recorded in the period 1944-1989. Some of them were destroyed during the first upheaval in 1957 and a majority in 1989, the minister said adding that disclosing the names would undermine the political equilibrium and jeopardize the positive trends in international economic cooperation.

Deputy Beszta-Borowski did not seem satisfied with the minister's explanation and said that a member of parliament has the right to know who is inside the state authorities and he did not rule out that revenues generated by the "Pewex" might be used to finance what he called "the 5th international of former Comecon secret services." Independent Deputy Ryszard Brzuzy denied that documents had been destroyed because the most important of them were also microfilmed.

The Sejm also listened to former Secret Police (SB) chief, Deputy Jerzy Karpacz who rejected any suspicions of having been involved in destroying documents by his organization.

Investigation into deliberate documents destruction is now carried out by military prosecutors in Warsaw.

## Poll Indicates Confidence in Economy Drops

*LD2205091991 Warsaw PAP in English 2042 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Warsaw, May 21—In a poll carried out on May 13-14 by the Public Opinion Sounding Centre (OBOB), 56 per cent of respondents said Poland's present economic situation was poor (in April—62 per cent) against 34 per cent who thought it bad (a rise by 8 per cent) and 7 per cent who opined that it was good (in April—9 per cent).

Thirty-seven per cent of those questioned were convinced that Polish economy has not undergone any changes recently (in April 30 per cent), 43 per cent expressed the opinion that Poland's economic condition was getting worse (41 per cent in April) and according to only 12 per cent it was improving (in April—22 per cent).

The percentage of those who assessed positively the government's economic programme decreased from 50 to 32 per cent while the number of negative opinions increased by nearly the same (from 20 to 36 per cent). The rest (32 per cent) had no opinion on the subject. The percentage of those confident in the government decreased from 56 per cent in April to 42 per cent at present.

## Political Figures on Election Alliances

*AU2105092491 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 91 pp 1, 2*

[Report signed "Dz. P.": "After a Busy Weekend"]

[Text] We asked the leaders of the main political groups to comment on the events of the past weekend—the amalgamation of the Democratic Union, the Congress of Party X, and the publication of the "Repair of Poland" document by the Center Accord.

Jacek Kuron, Democratic Union (formerly a member of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action): We are witnessing an increasing political gap between the world of politics and the life of ordinary people. There are various reasons for this. There are already over 70 registered political parties, with another 70 waiting to be registered, and the number of people involved in politics is small. That is one end of the scale. On the other end are ordinary people who do not understand the changes taking place, and we politicians are not quite capable of bridging the gap. The incorporation of three parties into the Democratic Union and the proposed Pact for Poland was an attempt to bridge it.

As for Party X, it can either widen or narrow the gap. If all Party X does is voice complaints, it will merely express reality. Party X is still an open issue.

Donald Tusk, Liberal-Democratic Congress: The total isolation in which Party X held its congress confirms that party's ambiguous nature. We have some new information about it, the fact that many members of the "Grunwald" movement belong to it. I do not think the congress has altered previous opinions on Party X.

The Center Accord declaration has many sources. I need not mention the Center Accord's frustration because of society's negative views of it as revealed by opinion polls. Many of the views contained in the declaration are correct, even if they are exaggerated. I agree that the present Sejm is one of the main obstacles to the reforms. This Sejm is even interfering with the work of the Bielecki government. I do not think the declaration is an attack on the government.

The main purpose of the Democratic Union congress was to amalgamate various groups. The success of this venture is a personal success for Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Nevertheless, I am surprised by the Union's lack of a programmatic line and its diametrically altered opinion of government policies, particularly evident in the speeches of Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Mazowiecki's accusation that the government has failed to achieve a breakthrough sounds dubious, especially because the Union has always behaved in a gentlemanly fashion. I think this change of heart is the result of present circumstances, and is not a genuine volte-face. It is possible that that part of the Forum of the Democratic Right [FPD] that has not joined the Democratic Union will ally itself with the Liberal-Democratic Congress. The reason behind the Pact for Poland is still unclear. It seems to cover up the absence of a genuine program. It is certainly worth considering the preservation of basic links between the post-Solidarity groups. The left wing of the Democratic Union has emerged from the congress in a stronger position, which might make it difficult for Mazowiecki, as head of the Democratic Union center, to keep the forces balanced.

Jacek Maziarski, Center Accord: These three events give an impression of totality. They show that the election campaign is under way at last.

The Party X congress is not important. Party X's strength is deliberately being kept a mystery. Tyminski has a large following, but organizationally his party is weak. This may make it just another small party out of the many we already have.

The Center Accord declaration was designed to communicate to Polish society the fact that the Polish state and raison d'etat are the most important matters. It brought home the fact that tampering with the structures of the state, beginning with the economy and ending with institutions of authority, is dangerous.

The Democratic Union congress was a question of to be or not to be. To what extent the congress secured the Union's further existence is a separate matter. The congress revealed major divisions. The Union will face real problems in the coming weeks, when it will have to adopt a stance on basic issues such as its relationship with the church, the nature of the Polish state, etc. This might cause it to disintegrate, which I do not want. To us, the Union is not an adversary, but a rival. The stronger the Democratic Union, the stronger the Center Accord.

Michal Wojtczak, non-party, formerly a member of the FPD: I thought the Democratic Union would preserve its identity, but then it embarked upon absurd debates about whether to oppose abortion and whether to support the Church. I must admit I have a political headache. Quitting the Union was a difficult decision which might lead me into a blind alley. I must consider what has happened.

I want to be loyal toward the FPD members still in the Democratic Union. I am thinking about a possible amalgamation of them, but not in the form of a political party. Instead, they might take the form of a moderate center-right-wing political club. Considering the fact that some FPD members did not turn up at the congress at all, I think we are a rather strong group. My dream is to build a large centrist group. If the Union assumes this shape, then it will be a potential ally. I do not rule out the possibility of joining such a Union in future. I fear that the Union is heading toward the left, which is unacceptable. I hope it lasts until the elections, but I fear internal tension may manifest itself before then.

I was not guided by personal ambition. Mazowiecki offered me a seat on the Union Presidium. What has happened is not a political success, but a setback.

Perhaps my group will link itself with the Liberal-Democratic Congress, but first of all we must establish our own identity. I hope my group becomes a bridgehead linking all the post-Solidarity groups that can only win the elections as a single force.

Tomasz Nalecz, chairman of the Executive Council of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland [SdRP]: I am struck by the fact that everyone who took part in congresses this weekend agreed that Poland is wallowing in a crisis and heading toward an eruption of social dissatisfaction that might jeopardize further reforms. Knowing that wherever there is poverty and shortages it is very easy to sow hatred and suspicion, the Center Accord has suggested to its followers a joint offensive against "nomenklatura companies." This method was known in ancient Rome, except that in Rome the property of the accused became the property of the accusers.

Stanislaw Tyminski probably decided to preserve his air of mystery in the hope that, given the erosion of authority, his political charms would prove successful.

I think the Democratic Union has adopted the most rational stance of all the groups, witH its suggestion of a Pact for Poland designed to put a halt to destructive activities in politics and the economy. This social contract, which the SdRP suggested last November, requires clarification. The only alternative to this pact may be chaos and destruction, resulting in a collapse of democracy and probably some form of authoritarian regime.

## U.S. Trade Treaty One-Sided Claim Refuted

*AU2205090991 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 16 May 91 p 5*

["Abo"-signed report: "A Loss-Making Treaty?"]

[Text] The U.S.-Polish treaty on trade and economic relations—signed well over a year ago—is coming under increasing criticism in Poland. It is said that Poland cannot afford to introduce full patent protection for

chemical and medical drug products and that the balance of trade between the two parties will turn out to be highly unfavorable to the Polish economy.

"We are convinced that this treaty will prove highly advantageous to Poland," stated Andrzej Olechowski, deputy minister for foreign economic cooperation, when he met journalists on 14 May to comment on the concern expressed by the Sejm and the press about the treaty. The treaty has already been ratified by the United States. According to Olechowski the criticism has come about because of misunderstandings, and a rejection of the treaty would have a very negative effect on Polish-U.S. relations.

The treaty introduces the principle of investment protection for Polish investments in the United States and U.S. investments in Poland. "The argument is simply not valid, because it is here in Poland that possible investors run up against constraints and limitations, not in the United States. It is more important for us to attract U.S. capital to Poland, not the other way around," stated Olechowski. It is worth noting that draft legislation on companies with foreign capital participation, presently being discussed by the Sejm, is much more liberal than the provisions of the treaty.

The treaty contains provisions on the protection of intellectual property, and this is the part that has come in for strongest criticism in the Sejm (which has referred the treaty to a special commission for consideration), and in the press. The pharmaceutical industry lobby has been the strongest opponent of the treaty. It maintains that ratification of the treaty means that Poland will have to pay $600 million for U.S. patents relating to the medical drugs that are currently being manufactured in Poland.

"Contrary to what is being said now, Poland will only become liable for additional costs after the year 2000," stated Wieslaw Kotarba, director of the Patent Office. "The implementation of new technologies program has been going on for about 10 years in Poland and we will not have to pay for old patents that have already been introduced and published by us. No medical drug that is produced in Poland will require special patent protection after treaty ratification," continued Kotarba.

The treaty has also been criticized because the U.S. standards it refers to are different to those prescribed by the EEC, and Poland is hoping to become a member of the EEC sometime in the future.

"The differences have mainly arisen over issues that are not in the treaty, but the accepted solutions in the treaty are compatible with the patent changes we will be making in Poland and these will be compatible with the EEC's," stated Kotarba.

Olechowski added that the EEC—following the U.S. example—intends to extend legal protection to computer programs as "literary works." The treaty contains such protective provisions.

Director Kotarba stated that Czechoslovakia has already adopted a new law on new inventions and in many respects this law is even more advanced than the provisions in the Polish-U.S. treaty. Hungary too has such a new law, and the other countries of our region are already at the draft stage.

"The new principles will obviously bring the greatest benefits to the highly industrialized countries and will not benefit developing countries, but in Poland's case the effect of this will be mostly neutral," concluded Olechowski. Kotarba added that it was false to assume that benefits flowing to foreign countries automatically implied a loss for Poland.

## Assembly of Deputies Meets; Details Reported

### UDMR Group Walks Out

*AU2105174991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1513 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/5/1991—In the Tuesday, 21 May, session of the Assembly of Deputies, chaired by its speaker Dan Martian, amendments were discussed and adopted to the bill on indemnities for war invalids and veterans, proposed in a previous plenary session. After short discussions, the session approved amendments to the first two articles, by virtue of which the indemnities and bonuses proposed initially will be substantially raised, growing the incomes of those who fought in battle to safeguard the national being, the country's independence, integrity and sovereignty, giving them the possibility to live decently.

In the previous session, Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] deputies proposed that the category of war veterans to be granted indemnities should also include the inhabitants of Transylvania under Horthyist rule who fought in the Hungarian Army on the Eastern Front. Speaking on behalf of the initiators of this bill, a representative of the Ministry of National Defense specified that the Romanian Army had not got evidence registers of fighters in other armies. He also mentioned that the law under discussion strictly referred to people who fought under the tricolor. He underlined that another bill was under way at the relevant ministry ensuring a number of rights to war participants, to be presented in the six forthcoming months, and which will contain a definition of the notion of veteran.

Several deputies took the floor and supported the idea that the law should only refer to those who participated in the war for the Romanian Army, which is equally true for other countries. It was mentioned that there were Romanian citizens who were granted pensions by Germany, France, Great Britain, the United States, for having participated in the war.

In context, the UDMR deputies asked for the law to include at least those who fought in Hungary's Army until 22 August 1944, therefore during the time the two countries had a common enemy. The UDMR deputies warned that, if neither this wish was met, they would leave the room. [sentence as received] Opinions contrary to this point of view were put forth. It was specified that those who fought in the Hungarian Army exclusively supported the cause of Hungary until 22 August 1944, and after that date they fought against the Romanian state, so they couldn't be paid by it. The UDMR parliamentary group ostentatiously left the room at this moment, saying that when they warned they would go out of the parliamentary room, voices asked them to leave the country.

At this moment, a closed-door meeting is under way, to which the Steering Committee of the Assembly of Deputies and the leaders of the parliamentary groups in this legislative forum were invited.

### Further on Walkout

*AU2105192991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/5/1991—Following today's [21 May] debates, the Senate concluded discussions by articles of Romania's national security bill.

After controversial discussions between parliamentary groups, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] senators left the session in protest against the wording of paragraph 1 where "breakaway" actions were described as threats to Romania's national security.

Mr. Attila Verestoi read a statement on behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania. It said inter alia: "speaking of a 'breakaway' action without the text of the law specifying that it referred to territorial integrity, may lead to tendentious, anti-democratic interpretations. The interpretation given to the 'breakaway' notion is likely to jeopardize national identity since it allows for legal action against any ethnic minority communities and organizations militating for independent political, cultural, educational institutions, for the charge of harming national security. The group of UDMR senators hereby declare they refuse to take part in the final voting both of the present law and of any further laws related to this one."

When the UDMR group had left the session, a vote was called on the bill as a whole, including amendments resulting from debates. The law was passed with a unanimity of the vote.

### PNL's Policrat Forms New Group

*AU2105210191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1933 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/5/1991—The incident which made the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] deputies walk out of the Lower House of the Parliament was settled during a session of its Permanent Bureau and parliamentary group leaders.

As the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies Dan Martian said the stand of the several parliamentarians who urged the UDMR deputies to leave the hall as well as the country, just as the "shame on you" shout of one UDMR deputy were disapproved.

In the plenum of the house and in the presence of the UDMR deputies the speaker of the assembly said that a bill to be soon advanced by the government would seek a solution in consonance international laws and in consensus with the countries concerned with the litigious issue.

The war veterans and invalids' pension bill was passed with one vote against and seven abstentions after an amendment concerning the indexation of those pensions had been approved.

The agenda of the Tuesday [21 May] afternoon session of the Assembly of Deputies included Romania's national security bill. Representatives of the parliamentary groups took the floor.

The speaker for the National Salvation Front group opined that the approval of the bill was a necessity since at the moment there was no legal framework for national security activities. In the context it was showed that all democratic countries had specialized bodies and there was no reason for Romania to be an exception.

Quite similar points of view were expressed by representatives of other parliamentary groups who expressed their readiness to back the bill.

Deputy Valentin Gabrielescu, of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party group, vehemently criticized the bill assessing it created legal premises for the violation of the citizens' basic rights. Starting from the premise that the Romanian intelligence service continued, with the same means, the activity of the former Securitate, the speaker warned that if the bill started being debated before the constitution was adopted his party, after consultations with other parties forming the convention for democracy, could decide not to take part in the debates since it did not want to be an accomplice to the adoption of a law which is dangerous in its essence. Deputy Ioan Gavra (Party of National Unity of Romania) disapproved that intention assessing that the current international context stringently required a legal framework for safeguarding the country's national security.

Debates will continue.

During the Tuesday session of the Assembly of Deputies, Liberal Deputy Radu Policrat said he withdrew from the parliamentary group of the National Liberal Party [PNL] but not from the party and would form a parliamentary group of liberal orientation open to deputies with liberal ideas even if they were members other political parties.

Next, Deputy Calin Popescu Tariceanu (the National Liberal Party—Young Wing) read the names of the eleven deputies who make up the new parliamentary group and who designated Rene Radu Policrat as their leader. Rene Radu Policrat is one of the personalities whom Premier Petre Roman offered, before the recent reshuffle, a post of super minister, which he refused.

The new group includes deputies belonging to the two liberal parties represented to the Parliament (the National Liberal Party led by one of the vice-presidents of the Senate, Radu Campeanu, and the National Liberal Party - Young Wing), as well as deputies elected to the Parliament on the lists of the ruling party (the FSN) and of other parties.

Our initiative, reads a statement sent to ROMPRES, pursues the unification of liberal ideas, which do not differ fundamentally, into a credible and powerful trend.

The document shows that the rules of the Chamber of Deputies do not force those who had adhered to the group to break ranks with their party.

The new group, whose intentions are to be pragmatic and competent, declares itself open to all the parliamentarians who think in a liberal way, since a speeded-up reform needs, in its opinion, a coherent representation of this option.

### New Parliamentary Group Described

*AU2205090091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0804 GMT 22 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/5/1991—A new parliamentary group, of liberal orientation, was set up on Tuesday, May 21, by most senior parliamentarian, Professor Rene Radu Policrat of Iasi. During the Tuesday session of the Assembly of Deputies, Liberal Rene Radu Policrat announced his withdrawal from the parliamentary group of the National Liberal Party [PNL] but not from the party. He said he would form a parliamentary group of liberal orientation open to deputies with liberal ideas even if they were members of other political parties.

Next, Deputy Calin Popescu Tariceanu (the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT]) read the names of the eleven deputies who make up the new parliamentary group and who designated Rene Radu Policrat as their leader. Rene Radu Policrat is one of the personalities who was offered a superministership by Premier Petre Roman before the recent reshuffle, an offer that Mr. Policrat turned down.

The new group includes deputies belonging to the two liberal parties represented in parliament (the PNL led by one of the vice- presidents of the Senate, Radu Campeanu, and the PNL-AT), as well as deputies elected to the parliament on the lists of the ruling party (the FSN) and of other parties.

Our initiative, reads a statement sent to "ROMPRES", pursues a merger of liberal ideas, which do not differ fundamentally, into a credible and powerful trend.

The document shows that the rules of the Chamber of Deputies do not force those who had adhered to the group to break ranks with their party.

The new group, whose intentions are pragmatic and which promotes competence, declares itself open to all parliamentarians with a liberal cast of mind since a speeded-up reform needs, in its opinion, a coherent representation of this option.

The principles by which the group will guide its actions are: healing the Romanian society of the social and moral crisis that now ails it and which is a prime cause for the economic crisis; the quick decentralization of state administration at

financial and decision-making levels; an efficient system of social protection, in its broad sense, including protection ensured by private property; the definitive solution of landed property, while creating material conditions for land owners to make the most of their land; anti- inflation and consumer-protective measures through incentive-stimulated competition; stimulating fiscal policies through minimal direct profit and income taxes, mainly relying on indirect taxes, correlated with consumption; state-guaranteed credits for indigenous entrepreneurs, granted by degree of competence, to compensate for lack of capital in the private sector; tax exemption in the culture and sports sectors; fighting the unjustified unemployment threat in a country where shop-shelves are empty; conservation of natural resources and efficient environmental protection; restructuring of the social security, health care and education systems on competitive criteria, apt to raise quality standards in these fields; social stability through dialogue and understanding; direct accountability of the nation's elect in a state of law founded on order, on a strong independent justice and on a solid defensive function of the state, a fundamental function sustained by a strong, politically non-involved army; real equality for all the country's citizens, firm guarantees for the human and minority rights, without privileges.

Any proposal meant to bring valuable ideas is welcome and regarded as a contribution to the climate of frankness among the members of the group, the statement concludes.

The National Liberal Party, one of the parties of long historical tradition in pre-war Romania, was reactivated shortly after the December 1989 revolution under the leadership of Radu Campeanu, who repatriated after a long exile.

The members of the PNL-AT, split from Radu Campeanu's party a few months after the May 20, 1990 elections, subsequent to severe criticism of PNL leader.

Despite Mr. Campeanu's protests and denials, who argued that the dissenters had been elected to parliament on the PNL lists, the new party of young liberals was duly registered at a court in Bucharest.

One of the PNL-AT leaders, Architecture Professor Dinu Patriciu accepted Premier Roman's offer to join his reshuffled cabinet, but his nomination was rejected by the Lower House. The prime minister promptly proposed Mr. Patriciu the position of secretary of state, for which no Parliament approval would have been needed, but he declines.

Mr. Policrat is considered by observers as political mentor of the young liberals.

Represented to Parliament is one more party of liberal leaning—the "Bratianu" Liberal Union, led by one of the descendants of this illustrious family of liberal politicians.

## Civic Alliance Rallies in Bucharest, Other Towns

*AU2005211791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2059 GMT 20 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1991—The Civic Alliance staged on Monday, May 20, a meeting-show in Bucharest's Revolution Square, devoted to the memory of all those who had given their life to overthrowing communist rule in December 1989, to the triumph of freedom and happiness for the Romanian nation.

The Revolution Square was full of people, old and young, who had come to watch an original show "Between Laughter and Tears," as it had been introduced. The performance given by musical groups and artists from Bucharest and other towns alternated with anti-presidential, anti-governmental and pro-monarchist slogans shouted by the whole audience.

The show was opened by the Bucharest musical group "Recviem" who dedicated their first song to their ex-soloist Mihai Gitlan, killed on December 21, 1989.

A meeting staged by the Civic Alliance's local branch took place in Constanta on Monday, one year after the May 20, 1990 elections.

Speakers at the meeting made critical reviews of Romania's present economic situation, mentioning the poverty that affected a large number of citizens. They pointed out that Constanta County ranked first in the country as far as unemployment was concerned.

Mihai Burca, worker at Chimpex, member of the National Peasant Party, proposed the creation of a "Romanian National and Democratic Legionary Party," "thus we should have a rightist party as well, to make up for the leftist one we already have" he said, and added: "if Yugoslavia has its oustachis and chetniks, let us also have our legionaries." Speaking in his turn, Memet Cerchez, member of the Civic Alliance and editor of weekly "CONTRAST," said he favored the foundation of a rightist party. He also criticized the parliament, the opposition parties and daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" for allegedly "playing int National Salvation Front's hands" and called on a general strike.

The meeting was followed by a "march of pain and unfulfilment" along the town's boulevards.

Anti-communist, anti-presidential, anti-governmental, anti-parliamentarian and pro-monarchist slogans were shouted during the meeting.

On Monday, May 20, in Sibiu and Rimnicu Vilcea a number of rallies took place, organized by the Civic Alliance, the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party, the National Liberal Party, the Social Democratic

Party, the Association of Former Detainees and other opposition formations. The rallies were attended by several hundred people.

The speakers—representatives of the local branches of the above mentioned parties—criticised the present government's reform policy. The participants chanted anti-governmental, anti- presidential, anti-communist and pro-monarchist slogans.

No incidents were reported.

### National Unity Party Convention Issues Communique

*AU2005152491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1045 GMT 20 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1991—Saturday, 18 May, and Sunday, 19 May, the extraordinary national convention of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] was held at Tirgu Mures, attended by representatives of all branches in the country. The PUNR activity in the past period was analyzed, aspects of interest for the party's life were debated, ways of future political action were established. Those who took the floor expressed their opinions and made proposals as concerns the PUNR's relations with other political formations and organizations, the party's foreign policy, education and science, culture, economy, agriculture and physical planning, social and ecological protection. The PUNR new Steering Committee was elected. Senator Radu Ceontea was elected chairman and Deputy Petre Burca first deputy chairman. The five PUNR deputy chairman are: Deputy Ioan Gavra (Cluj), Gheorghe Funar (Cluj), Ioan Crisan (Cluj), deputy Alin Druga and Vlad Bejan (Iasi), Valer Suianu (Cluj) and Daniela Soare (Tirgu Mures) are cosecretaries.

The convention adopted a communique saying that PUNR, whose members are, cosecretaries.

The convention adopted a communique saying that PUNR, whose members are, all of them, also members of the "Vatra Romaneasca" had been and remained the only political party that adopted the platform and the program of the union, politically supporting its ideals and objectives. PUNR will continue to militate for the strengthening of its unity, the re-unification of the country in its historical boundaries and the renewal of the spiritual unity of the Romanians all over the world.

The convention also adopted the document "PUNR's Stand Regarding the Congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) Planned to Be Held at Tirgu Mures," asking Romania's Parliament, the president, the government to adopt the necessary legal measures to forbid this congress.

"It is our moral obligation to inform the Romanian people and the world's public opinion that after the December 1989 events, a great number of Romanians were victims of attacks in Transylvania, especially at Tirgu Mures, some of them by chauvinist irresponsible Hungarian irredentists," says the communique. UDMR is considered to be "an anachronous and extremist ethnic party that, through its activity, seriously endangers the unity and integrity of the Romanian state," and specifies that all UDMR actions, in the country and beyond its boundaries have "an obvious anti-Romanian character." The international meeting held at Eger (Hungary) is mentioned along this line, attended by certain UDMR leaders, among whom its honorary president, Laszlo Tokes.

"To choose Tirgu Mures as the venue of the UDMR congress is, in the present internal and international context, a new provocation for the Romanians in Transylvania. What UDMR tries to do is to bring again tin the forefront false Transylvanian inter-ethnic conflicts, in order to make Romania be debased abroad," says the PUNR document.

### Iliescu Visits Tirgu Mires, Meets Politicians

*AU2005202591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1951 GMT 20 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1991—President Ion Iliescu went to Tirgu Mures on Monday [20 May] morning to meet representatives of the prefecture and of political parties and organizations in that county. The programme of the visit also includes meetings with leaders of trade union organizations, with scientists and men of letters from Tirgu Mures.

In Tirgu Mures President Ion Iliescu met members of the Steering Council of the Mures County Prefecture, leaders of local branches of the political parties and non-political unions, parliamentarians from the Mures County.

One of the problems that were discussed was that of the tension between the Romanians in Mures County and the Hungarian minority as a result of the Eger symposium and in anticipation of the nearing Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] congress scheduled in Tirgu Mures. Discussions also bore on economy and ecology, aspects of unemployment, the implementation of the land law, price liberalization and privatisation, the conservation of the Sighisoara Citadel, etc.

The UDMR parliamentarians raised the matter of local elections.

President Iliescu said that the minorities' problem belonged exclusively to the states that had minorities and that in Romania it would be solved by the Romanian state, according to the principles of democracy. He said that in order to settle conflicts, including those of an ethnic and social nature, the main problem to solve was getting the economy on its feet again, and that would necessitate the cooperation of all political forces.

During the visit to Tirgu Mures, Mr. Ion Iliescu met this afternoon at the Prefecture of the Mures County with part of the members of the Council of the County Association of the Mures Free Trade Unions, with other representatives of the country union movement.

Stress was laid on the ways in which economic agents, trade unions, working collectivities can contribute to overcoming the crisis in the Romanian economy.

Mr. Ion Iliescu also met with representatives of local intelligentsia. Emphasis was placed on the role the intellectuals can play in defusing tension favored by the economic and moral crisis manifested in this transition period.

### Draft Constitution Seen Unfair to Minorities

*AU2105104491 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 14 May 91 p 10*

[Interview with Senator Geza Szocs by Domokos Boloni; place and date not given: "What Is Good for a Nation?—Senator Geza Szocs on the Romanian Draft Constitution"]

[Excerpts] [Boloni] Mr Senator! What is your opinion about the theses of the draft constitution?

[Szocs] Quite a few thinkers and historians have expressed their opinions about the theses of the new Romanian constitution. As for my rather unprofessional opinion, it partly derives from those professional conclusions, and partly from my own knowledge of the matter, and this opinion can be summed up as follows: This draft constitution does not contain the guarantees necessary for any national minority in this country to carry out an undisturbed self-developing activity and to preserve, transmit, and develop its identity. I would not carry out a thorough analysis now, but everyone stops after reading the first point and, given the fact that everything starts from the first axiom, here too there is a concept that wants to base the entire constitution and the entire future regime in Romania on the declaration that Romania is a homogeneous national state.... Well, this is the declaration that has a very pale and indefinite content in the 20th century. We know what a nation state is in the last century's interpretation of this word. We can only guess what the Romanians understand by this and mainly what the future deputies, journalists, and court organizations might interpret by this, and we have every reason to be apprehensive about it. As a result, I think that we can simply not accept such a sentence that could provide the basis for a whole series of discriminatory or assimilative laws. If this article, and some other similar expressions present the Romanians as the exclusive state-forming nation, thus excluding the national minorities from this process, it will lead to a discriminatory concept. On the other hand, if they regard us as Romanians who speak Hungarian, German, or Ukrainian, this will lead to an assimilative concept. We cannot accept either one of these concepts; therefore, I mentioned before that we cannot accept this thesis of the draft constitution itself. In my opinion, one should also examine other aspects, not only the ones that are questionable in a draft constitution. I would like to draw attention to the fact that, under our current conditions, when we are emerging from a long dictatorship and we are seeking the road toward democracy, a system in which a prefect is sent from Bucharest to preside over the newly elected local leadership is dangerous. [passage omitted]

[Boloni] What is the problem? Is Parliament not clever enough?

[Szocs] In my opinion, this Parliament is made up of people whose good faith I would not question at all; however, their professional skill—and that goes for myself as well—could very well be questioned.... We do not have the necessary legal knowledge. Many deputies can do things to the detriment of their other activities, like reading, consulting, meeting, and generally trying to get hold of background knowledge for the various issues under debate. This can be partly successful and partly unsuccessful. Because we are dealing with a lot of issues, the problem is what various people regard (or regarded) as very important. I regarded the issues concerning the national minority rights as the most important ones; therefore, I have been regularly consulting various written sources on the subject for almost nine months. At the same time, even if my electors become outraged, I must admit that I have no idea of certain economic and financial issues. [passage omitted]

[Boloni] Is there a coordinated and clever strategy of some kind of "occult" forces developing in this country?

[Szocs] Skillfulness and cleverness should be separated just like the activity carried out in the interest of the nation and the activity carried out in the interest of democracy. According to one concept, the interest of the nation is above everything, and it is more important than democracy. This was Ceausescu's concept, namely that he knew better than the nation what the nation needed, and he would force upon the nation everything that is good for the nation. According to another concept, the best thing that can happen to a nation is that it can live freely and under democratic conditions. It is very interesting that those who are operating with the most nationalist slogans are actually hurting the nation they represent, and they are doing this consciously or unconsciously. I would not go so far as to find out the possible coordinated activity of certain forces. All I think is that there are mostly reflexes and doctrines here deriving from a lack of understanding of how democracy works, rather than the activity of a well-coordinated and comprehensive "staff" in the background. [passage omitted]

### PNT-cd Meets To Mark Election Anniversary

*AU1705200091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 17 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/5/1991—A meeting and a march will be staged by the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd] in Bucharest today, one year after the May 20, 1990 elections. On the occasion, daily "DREPTATEA", mouthpiece of the

National Peasant Party, published a summary of the party's programme for Romania's economic, social and moral recovery.

In its introduction to the programme summary, daily "DREPTATEA" reviews Romania's situation nowadays and points out that all measures taken by the power after the May 20 elections "have resulted in isolating Romania at an international level in discouraging foreign investments which are badly needed to stop economic collapse; they have caused unemployment, inflation and an ever lower living standards, far below acceptable limits".

The PNT-cd programme underlines that the main goal at the moment is to stabilize the economy, whose present crisis is allegedly due to its bad management and to the mistakes made in the process of privatization as conceived by the government. According to the National Peasant Party, the main objectives in stabilizing the economy are: maintaining the living standard at a decent level; ending the imbalance and degradation of the national patrimony; bringing unemployment rate to a minimum acceptable level.

The programme further emphasizes the need that salaries rise faster than prices for consumer goods; any salary rise should be the outcome of production growth rather than of a social protection policy. In the National Peasant Party's opinion, keeping salaries far below living cost is a major hindrance in the way of increasing production and revigorating the economy.

Referring to agriculture, the National Peasant Party considers that the land law "favors abuses and inequities, it prolongs state interference excessively and fails to let agricultural experts play the part they are able to".

The National Peasant Party appreciates it is highly imperative to speed up privatization of industry and services, so as to guarantee the appropriate conditions for the country's democratization. In PNT-cd's opinion, the money available with the population is not enough to buy state enterprise assets, while owners of large investible amounts are persons who gained them illegally. According to the National Peasant Party, direct distribution of state property to the population can be carried out only to those who actually work in privatizable enterprises. People who are not directly involved in production should, according to PNT-cd's programme, benefit from privatization by the indexation of their incomes in relation to the income growth of those who directly benefit from privatization.

In foreign policy, the National Peasant Party defends national independence, integrity and sovereignty. In that context, PNT-cd militates for good relations with all neighbors and with all democratic states in Europe and other continents; it supports the building of a strong base structure for Romania's national security, with a view to establishing the country's territory within its natural boundaries.

In relation to the ethnic minority issue, the National Peasant Party promotes respect of the Alba Iulia declaration of December 1, 1918, of the U.N. Charter, of the final act of Helsinki, of all generally accepted international regulations. The National Peasant Party underlines that Transylvania is a Romanian land and that Romania's Western border cannot be questioned, having been established by the Treaty of Trianon and reconfirmed by the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947.

In the same context, the National Peasant Party says it considers Bessarabia, North Bucovina, the Herta District and the Serpents' Island as being Romanian land, it deems as null and void the provisions in the annexes to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939 and protests against the treaty recently concluded in Moscow by Romania and the Soviet Union.

## Prime Minister Roman Begins Visit to Gulf States

*AU2105112191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0918 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRESS, 21/05/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman started Tuesday, 21 May, an official visit to Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, at the invitation of the heads of governments of these states.

The government delegation includes Florian Bercea, minister in charge of the budget, Gheorghe Tinca, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a group of specialists of various ministries and firms.

"It is very important for us to pay this visit immediately after the end of the military conflict in the Gulf, considering that Romania is known to have backed the right of the Kuwaiti people to be their masters and own their country's riches." Premier Petre Roman said before the departure. He also underlined that Romania had good relations both with Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, which he wanted to give concrete shape in this favourable context. "We shall establish long-term economic relations, of cooperation and mutual assistance. Our country is interested in works for the recovery of the Kuwaiti economy, such as building, roads, power transport networks, reconstruction of refineries, long-term cooperation in Kuwaiti oil refining in Romania," mentioned Premier Petre Roman.

Referring to his visit to the United Arab Emirates, Romania's prime minister specified he would tackle aspects concerning the oil processing and projects being made with Romania with businessmen from the Emirates in various fields, such as tourism and trade.

"We start this visit confident that we have good opportunities of opening ways to Romanian enterprisers and to the potentialities of the skilled work of our country, that can be used to good account in these states," concluded Prime Minister Petre Roman.

### Arrives in Kuwait, Meets Amir

*AU2105205791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2001 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Kuwait City, ROMPRES, 21/5/1991—Prime Minister Petre Roman arrived in Kuwait on Tuesday [21 May] afternoon for an official visit at the head of a government delegation.

The Romanian premier was received by the Amir of the State of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah.

Prime Minister Petre Roman conveyed Romania's wish to support Kuwait to recover fast, to contribute to liquidating the aftermaths of the war. The present Romanian-Kuwaiti relations are good but they can be better. Romania can contribute with what it knows and what it is able to do to Kuwait's reconstruction, but Kuwait as well can make its presence felt in Romania, the Romanian premier assessed.

On behalf of Romania's president and government the amir of Kuwait was extended the invitation to pay a visit to Romania.

In his turn, the Kuwaiti head of state expressed his country's gratitude for the stand Romania had taken internationally. He expressed the wish for and the hope in a fruitful cooperation between the two countries, assessing as possible a Kuwaiti-Romanian cooperation in third countries. I hope to be able to visit Romania at a suitable moment, after we surpass our crisis, the Kuwaiti amir said.

Tuesday afternoon, Prime Minister Petre Roman started a first round of contacts with members of the Kuwaiti Government.

### Visiting Hungarian State Secretary Meets Press

*AU1705212591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2025 GMT 17 May 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/5/1991—The visiting secretary of state for the minorities in the Hungarian Government, Geza Entz, met Friday [17 May] afternoon in Bucharest Romanian and foreign journalists at a news conference.

Showing that his visit reflects the concern of the Hungarian Government for the fate of the Hungarian diaspora and that it is in line with the new openness in Europe which he termed as a positive trend apt to defuse inter-ethnic tension, the Hungarian official showed that if until now political decision-making was influenced by emotional reasons, the present strategy of the Hungarian Parliament was rooted in the concern for stability and agreement in Europe.

Answering the journalists' questions, the Hungarian official said among other things that his country rejected any revisionist idea and that it was determined to pursue a friendly policy with its neighbors, hence with Romania, too.

We want to remove suspicion and mistrust through comprehensive mutual exchanges of information, because the new developments in Europe will hopefully lead to stability in the area, Mr. Entz said.

## Reportage on Stipe Mesic, Presidency Debate

### Mesic Reacts to Stari's Statement

*LD2105144691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Because of numerous inquiries from Yugoslav and foreign journalists, the SFRY Presidency President's office issued the following statement:

SFRY Presidency Secretary General Anton Stari's statement, which says that a letter sent from the constitutional president of the SFRY Presidency to top federal and republican officials and the Diplomatic Corps is only of personal and not official importance, cannot be accepted. The denial of the official importance of this letter by the SFRY Presidency secretary general shows that some State Presidency officials are also involved in a policy of obstructions. The constitutionally based procedure of rotation within the SFRY Presidency charter neither foresees voting nor prescribes a necessary number of votes for the election of the new president, nor does it mention the function of a temporary coordinator of the Presidency's work.

### Mesic Letter Asserts Presidency Claim

*LD2105144991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Zagreb, 21 May (TANJUG)—"On the basis of Article 327, Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Constitution and Article 70 of the Procedure Book of the SFRY Presidency, I took over the duty of the President of the SFRY Presidency on 16 May 1991, which I intend to carry out for one year.

"After consultations that I planned to hold with other members of the SFRY Presidency shortly, I shall convene a regular session of the SFRY Presidency."

This is what Stipe Mesic said in a letter today to other members of the SFRY Presidency: the presidents of the presidencies of all Yugoslav republics; SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic; Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic; Federal Secretary for National Defense Veljko Kadijevic; JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] Chief of Staff Blagoje Adzic; Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin; Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, and SFRY General Secretary Anton Stari.

In his capacity as president of the SFRY Presidency, Stipe Mesic also sent separate letter to the ambassadors of all the countries accredited in the SFRY: "In accordance with the SFRY Constitution, on 16 May 1991, I took over the duty of the president of the SFRY Presidency. In the interest of continuing our good cooperation, I ask you to inform your government about this".

### Mesic Reaffirms Presidency Role

*LD2105205191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1401 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Paris, May 21 (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, Yugoslav Presidency member from the Republic of Croatia, told the Paris daily LE FIGARO that he was "Yugoslavia's only president," and that he intended to convene a Presidency meeting later this week.

Mesic failed on May 15 to get the necessary five votes for his appointment as Presidency president.

Mesic denied in the interview that he had said he would be "Yugoslavia's last president."

"All I did was say that during my presidency new principles of organizing an alliance of sovereign states would be adopted," Mesic said, adding that four of the country's six republics favoured a confederation.

He said he hoped the world would understand this and that Serbia and Montenegro (which favour a federal organization) would ultimately have to accept a compromise or be forced to find a third solution on their own.

Mesic confirmed to LE FIGARO that he intended to meet with President of the European Commission Jacques Delors and European Community head Jacques Santer during their forthcoming visit to Yugoslavia.

"I will speak with them about continued EC aid to all Yugoslav republics and assure them that we are in favour of any solution which would preserve Yugoslavia's internal borders," Mesic said, adding that those who were bent on retailoring internal borders by force should not be encouraged.

Asked if he feared the outbreak of a civil war, Mesic said the "preservation of a Yugoslavia in its present, artificial, form is the best way to turn it into a powder keg."

### Serbian Reformists Support Mesic

*LD2105214391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, May 21 (TANJUG)—Branislav Milosevic, a member of the innermost leadership of the Alliance of Reformist Forces for Serbia (the party founded by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic), said here today that 'Stipe Mesic is president of the Yugoslav State Presidency and this is a fact which the gentlemen who are against him will have to recognize'.

In the elections in Serbia last year, as well as in the other Yugoslav republics, the reformist forces won comparatively small support and cannot exercise any decisive influence in parliament.

Stipe Mesic is Croatia's representative on the state presidency. He was to have been elected president of the presidency, but failed to win the necessary majority.

Branislav Milosevic today said that the policy pursued by the Serbian authorities has resulted in the Nichols Amendment taking effect, suspending U.S. economic aid for Yugoslavia. This will hit the Serbs most, Milosevic said.

The leadership of the Reformist Forces for Serbia today expressed (?reservations) as to whether or not they would join the Serbian democratic opposition which should be formed tomorrow, on the grounds that it would 'narrow the ethnic basis' of the opposition in the republic.

### Montenegrin Reformists Support Mesic

*LD2105224991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Titograd, 21 May (TANJUG)—The message from the Montenegrin reformists is that the president of the SFRY Presidency should be elected in the way it has been done so far. According to the Constitution and the Presidency's standing orders the representative of Croatia should be the head of our state, to wit Stipe Mesic, and since the Constitution and other acts have not laid down any other way of choosing the Presidency president, the speculations revolving around this case only exacerbate the baneful nationalistic tendencies and drag the country into conflicts.

This is stressed in a statement issued today by the Alliance of Reformist Forces for Titograd. The statement goes on to say that putting Mesic's appointment as the SFRY Presidency president in the balance merely draws Yugosalvia away from a peaceful democratic solution.

"We must not accept the games played by some of our immature potentates and permit them to manipulate the people and put the lives of our sons and daughters, the future of our country," in jeopardy, the statement issued by the reformists in the Montenegrin capital warns.

### Members To Skip Mesic-Led Session

*LD2205102991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0841 GMT 22 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—Members of the Yugoslav Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina Bogic Bogicevic and Montenegro's Branko Kostic have announced they would not attend a session of the Presidency convened by Stipe Mesic of Croatia.

Mesic failed on May 15 to get the needed five votes to become Presidency president, and sent a letter on Tuesday to the Presidency members informing them that he has "assumed duty" and that he would soon convene a session of the country's state leadership.

Mesic cannot convene a session because he was not elected and proclaimed president of the state Presidency, assessed Bogicevic in a statement carried by the Belgrade daily BORBA on Wednesday.

Kostic has the same opinion about Mesic's letter. The Montenegrin representative specified that he would attend a session convened by the Presidency member from the Serbian province of Kosovo, Sejdo Bajramovic.

Bajramovic has been declared coodinator to prepare the resumption of the session at which the solution for the constitutional crisis caused by failing to elect the president and vice-president of the Presidency will be sought.

Presidency member from Slovenia Janez Drnovsek told Borba he had no doubts that according to the rules of procedure of the Yugoslav Presidency it was Croatian representative Mesic's turn.

He said he was unaware that Bajramovic could have been some sort of coordinator and that he could convene the sessions.

### Republic Leaders Discuss Economy, Security

*LD2105174291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 May (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic had talks today with the presidents and vice presidents of the republican governments. On the agenda were three groups of issues: the reestablishment of the single Yugoslav market; the resolution of the problem of how to finance the federal budget; and the implementation of the SFRY Presidency and FEC conclusions about the current security and political situation. This was revealed by the FEC Secretariat for Information.

The FEC president proposed to his colleagues that from Monday 27 May, all republics cease to implement legal regulations that put restrictions on the single Yugoslav commodities market. This was endorsed by everyone, including representatives of the Slovene and Croatian governments. Dragutin Zelenovic promised to inform the Federal Government about the Serbian government stand within two days. At today's meeting, the Serbian representatives endorsed a two-month old proposal of the Croatian government about mutual talks, during which the property ownership issue would be resolved.

It was agreed that, following a meeting with representatives of oil refineries, the FEC proposal on the single price for oil derivatives be discussed once more.

Regarding the federal budget, it was agreed that the Federal Secretariat for Finances should draft an orientation concept for the new federal budget, which will be discussed at the next meeting scheduled for 27 May. On that day, issues in the field of monetary and foreign currency policy, and ways of reestablishing disrupted financial flows, will be considered.

Ante Markovic briefed the representatives of the republican governments about FEC activities regarding the implementation of the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, and the Federal Government on normalizing the unfavorable political and security situation in the country. The FEC has already set up a coordination body headed by the FEC president, whose aim is, in line with its authority

and responsibilities, to propose and undertake measures on reducing tensions in the country and pave the way for a further democratization of society and the continuation of the reforms.

The FEC president briefed his colleagues about last night's phone conversation with U.S. President George Bush.

### Information Secretariat on Future Relations

*LD2105201291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1732 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, May 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government "has no authority to decide matters which might prejudice the future organization in the Yugoslav community," the Information Secretariat of the Yugoslav Federal Government said today.

The secretariat issued a statement to the effect that the government, after discussing a proposal submitted by the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia for that republic and the federation to directly discuss mutual [words indistinct] and obligations, came to the conclusion that the organization of future relations in Yugoslavia is "the common duty of all the federal units and bodies."

The Federal Government pointed out the necessity of the functioning of the system and its vital bodies in the transitional perid before final agreement is reached on Yugoslavia's future organization.

The Federal Government maintains that mutual rights and duties within Yugoslavia should be defined independently of consultations on the future organization of relations in Yugoslavia, as this is a prerequisite for the attainment of the principle of equality which lies at the core of the Yugoslav community.

### Results of Croatian Referendum Assessed

*LD2105150491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1237 GMT 21 May 91*

[Zorka Godel report]

[Text] Zagreb, May 21 (TANJUG)—Following a convincing "yes" at the May 19 referendum, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman announced full independence of this Yugoslav Republic already on the "way to the European Community," unless agreement was reached on a confederal Yugoslavia.

Tudjman has made the decision to hold the referendum and, as the election commission president said, formulated the questions himself.

The blue-colored ballot asked the citizens of Croatia whether they wished an independent Croatia which can, but not necessarily, enter a confederal alliance with other states, as set out, according to the proposal of Croatia and Slovenia.

The red-colored ballot asked whether the voters wished for Croatia to remain in Yugoslavia as a single federal state, and as set out, according to the proposal of Serbia and Montenegro.

Of some 82 percent of the voters who turned up, according to unofficial results, a total [words indistinct] percent said "yes" to the blue question.

The authorities in Croatia have announced they would not make public the results according to the regions and municipalities. The municipalities in which Serbs make up the majority population, the referendum was boycotted, while in those nationally-mixed, but without national dominance of any one nation, only a small number of voters turned up.

A number of parties in Istria, which called on their membership to boycott the referendum, as set out by the Yugoslav daily BORBA, expressed their suspicion of the published results for this region. According to the official results, the turnout was around 70 percent, although party activists in Istria in the couse of the day reported about a poor turnout.

It was announced at the community of Istria's Italians that the results of the referendum were in no way obligatory for the members of the Italian nationality. They have rejected the ballot in their own language, assessing it as counting.

Leaders of a number of opposition parties have assessed that the referendum was a significant event because the Croatian people "for the first time voted in this way since 1945." The differences, however, existed in the assessment of the range of the referendum results.

Ivica Racan, leader of former communists, believes that the referendum would not effect any major changes in the political situation, but that the referendum results would "disperse doubts" in the will of the people of Croatia.

President of the conservative Croatian National Party (HNS) Savka Dabcevic-Kucar assessed that the referendum was a good way to begun dissociation in a peaceful manner.

Leader of the rightist Croatian Democratic Party Marko Veselica believes that the referendum should have been used to decide immediately about Croatia secession because, as he said, this was the only way in the light of the "Serbian occupation-like and communist policy."

The opinion of liberal sociologist from Zagreb Svetozar Livada is completely different. He believes the referendum was held "in a war situation", that it was "directed", and represented an abuse of the people.

The leading Croatian daily, VJESNIK, in a commentary assesses on tuesday that after the referendum the Croatian leadership can no longer blame the federal state for its failures.

VJESNIK recalls that it was necessary to apply the Constitution adopted on December 22, 1990, and hold new elections because, as the paper notes cautiously, a limited number of constitutional provisions were being applied and this meant the legal order is virtually non-existent.

### Military Court Sentences on Insurrection Charges

*LD2005111291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 20 May 91*

[Text] Zagreb, 20 May (TANJUG)—The tribunal of the Zagreb Military Court today, a month after the trial started, brought in its verdict for the six accused of the criminal act of preparing an armed insurrection.

Antun Habijanec was sentenced to 42 months in prison, Djuro Decak to three years' imprisonment, Franjo Kovac to 30 months, Vlado Sabaric to 15 months, Vinko Belobrk to one year, and Josip Kovac to 39 months.

The tribunal also decided to prolong the detention of Senior Sergeant Franjo Kovac and Sergeant Vlado Sabaric.

Detention for Antun Habijanec, Djuro Decak, and Vinko Belobrk is lifted until the sentence comes into effect. They were all, except for Josip Kovac, found guilty of "preparing an armed insurrection in the territory of the Republic of Croatia".

Josip Kovac was found not guilty in respect of this part of the indictment, so his sentence is for his stay abroad without authorization and and for deserting the armed forces.

### Daily Accuses U.S. of 'Political Punishment'

*LD1905221191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2040 GMT 19 May 91*

[Text] Zagreb, May 19 (TANJUG)—Washington's latest decision on denying Yugoslavia all financial, technical and material aid is the beginning of a political "punishment" process, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes in Monday's edition.

The daily describes the move as a "red card" shown to a country which is [words indistinct] painful dying, in one part of it, making moves that are now in the world as well, finally provoking doubt, criticism and even protests.

From this end, a more selective choice of sanctions is expected from the United States or simply the West, that is, one which will not equally punish the executioners and the victims, VJESNIK adds. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES on Sunday, Washington suspended support to Yugoslavia on May 6 under a law passed by the Congress last November. THE NEW YORK TIMES' special correspondent from Belgrade announced in his article that the move could also relate to loans to Yugoslavia from the IMF.

The motive is the violation of human rights in Yugoslavia. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, this is the punishment for the Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia particularly, and for Yugoslavia in general, because of the repressive measures against ethnic Albanians in Serbia's province of Kosovo.

The U.S. daily claims that the main driving force behind the moves is Senator Bob Dole, leader of a minority in Congress, who, together with some other Congress members, received hundreds of thousands of dollars in contributions from the [word indistinct]-American lobby.

The organization has frequently demanded measures against Serbia.

Dole, as THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, assessed that it was impossible to separate Serbia and implement punitive measures againso it, but succeeded in having Yugoslavia declared responsible for human rights violations in an amendment.

### Tudjman Eyes 'Irrational' Presidency Move

*LD1805222791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 18 May 91*

[Text] Zagreb, 18 May (TANJUG)—The stand of Serbia to refuse to accept the normal constitutional rotation procedure in the Yugoslav Presidency is more than irrational. Within the framework of the Yugoslav state and political crisis, this represents a decisive step which has already sent this state down a precipice. This was stated by [Croatian President] Franjo Tudjman for Croatian TV's interview of the week this evening.

In the interview, led by Croatian Radio and TV Director Antun Vrdoljak, Tudjman noted that Stipe Mesic was not personally affected by such a move, but it was rather the attitude toward Croatia and its rights within Yugoslavia that were affected.

Serbian politics, Tudjman said, has opted for the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Acting in that way in the SFRY Presidency, Serbia acted against the will of the Croatian people but also against resolute stands of the Slovene, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonian representatives. Hence, Tudjman said, Serbia does not really care for Yugoslvaia. However, these scenarios, according to him, did not assess the consequences that such actions will have for other republics, including Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Despite everything, Tudjman said that I hope we will avoid the tragedy and that we have not abandoned the efforts to prove that an alliance of sovereign republics is the best solution for all. We can no longer speak about any kind of Yugoslavia, Tudjman said, but only about an alliance of sovereign republics on the territory of the

present Yugoslavia. Even for this, the likelihood is slim, he added and stressed that it is a decision on the part of Serbia to bring into question the Yugoslav community, that is possibly speeding up decisions of Slovenia and Croatia and also of other republics to opt for their sovereignty and independence.

Tudjman then commented on the latest magazine, SRBIJA, warning that it actually includes a program how to implement the policy of greater Serbia. He said that never have such efforts been made, at all costs, including terrorism, such as Knin and Borovo Selo, to implement such policy in which, as he said, all forces in Serbia are involved, both the ruling and opposition forces.

Tudjman warned that there have been attempts to involve the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in implementing such a policy, but generally the JNA did not get involved in implementing such a program, despite the fact that some individuals in the army were actively involved in it.

Replying in conclusion to a question regarding tomorrow's referendum, Tudjman stressed that the referendum is an expression of a policy on which the Croatian people will vote tomorrow.

### Serbian Opposition Leader Views Nickles Amendment

*LD2105215391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1754 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, May 21 (TANJUG)—Dragoljub Micunovic, the head of Serbia's Democratic Party, said in Belgrade today that the so-called "Nickles Amendment" should be taken as a [word indistinct] pressure on Yugoslavia not to become a new focus of crisis.

Micunovic, who returned today from a several-day-long visit to Canada and the United States, at a news conference at Belgrade Airport linked the application of the Nickles Amendment to the failure of the Yugoslav presidency to elect a president.

American official circles and the press cannot comprehend why the pre-set rota system in the Presidency has been violated, Micunovic said.

The Nickles amendment suspends U.S. economic aid to Yugoslavia, while U.S. representatives in international financial institutions could now vote against international financial assistance to Yugoslavia.

Micunovic said Yugoslavia might count on assistance if U.S. representatives abstained, but that if they voted against aid it would be highly unlikely to be forthcoming.

The Democratic Party is the second-biggest opposition party in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia. The Serbian opposition several days ago came out against the endeavours of the republican authorities to block the appointment of Croatian representative in the Yugoslav presidency Stipe Mesic as its president.

### Serbian Vice President Views Amendment

*AU2105200091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 May 91*

[Rajko Popovic report]

[Text] Serbian Government Vice President Slobodan Prohaska today visited Kikinda where he spoke to businessmen on the government's program.

[Popovic] Speaking about our internal disagreements and outside milieu, Prohaska particularly stressed that the so-called Nickles Amendment complicates the situation further, but that one should also bear in mind the fact that we have not enjoyed a great amount of aid form the United States anyway, and that the republican government has not been caught without suitable solutions.

Prohaska stressed that it is a fact that a false picture about Serbia is being spread in the world and that the most noticeable role in this political misinformation is played by certain circles from the northwestern republics. However, Prohaska said that disunity within our republic has also contributed to such a false picture of Serbia. Now when we are experiencing unpleasant circumstances, such behavior should be overcome with more tolerance and reason, because we are causing great damage to ourselves. Vice President Prohaska graphically illustrated the readiness of the Serbian government to create opportunities for surmounting the crisis through more aggressive moves, above all, in the sphere of investments.

### Serbian Chetnik Leader on National Minorities

*AU2205095291 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 18 May 91 p 6*

[Interview with Serbian Radical Party Chairman Vojislav Seselj by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Chief Chetnik"—first paragraph is HETI VILAGGAZDASAG introduction]

[Text] The Vojvodina newspaper MAGYAR SZO [HUNGARIAN WORD] recently conducted an interview with Vojislav Seselj—the Serbian nationalist known for his rather extreme views—and the following is a selection of passages from that interview.

[MAGYAR SZO] Mr. Seselj, at one time you spoke of yourself as a true Yugoslav, but now you seem to have become a Great Serb.

[Seselj] The Yugoslav idea was a big, big Serbian mistake, and I was one of those Serbs who was fooled by the idea. Unfortunately, I was raised under this misconception from my early childhood onwards, and that is why I believed I was a Yugoslav. Fortunately, the Serbian nation has now freed itself of the Yugoslav burden.

[MAGYAR SZO] What kind of family do you come from?

[Seselj] A Serbian family.

[MAGYAR SZO] I was not referring to the nationality of your family!

[Seselj] My father was a railway employee, he had four years of schooling. My mother was an illiterate housewife. Both of them came from peasant families.

[MAGYAR SZO] Were your parents Communists?

[Seselj] Neither of them was ever a Communist.

[MAGYAR SZO] Were you ever a Communist?

[Seselj] I was a Communist for 10 years, from the age of 16 and a half to the age of 27. I enrolled as a Party member on the occasion of a youth action; I was taking part in some reconstruction work in Banja Luka, following an earthquake. I was honored as one of the best brigadiers because I worked incredibly hard, my hands were full of blood blisters.

[MAGYAR SZO] What income do you have at the moment?

[Seselj] I live off the sale of my privately published books, and I hold lectures abroad.

[MAGYAR SZO] You are not employed at home?

[Seselj] No.

[MAGYAR SZO] Not only have you changed over from being a Communist to being a leading member of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, you have in fact changed parties a considerable number of times over the last year.

[Seselj] The Serbian Freedom Movement [Szerb Szabadsag Mozgalom] was one of the first political parties—I founded it—and it later turned into the Serbian Renaissance Movement, but given that Vuk Draskovic was in disagreement with me, we broke up. I continued to follow the original aims of the Serbian Renaissance Movement. Draskovic changed his views but kept the name of the movement. That is why I was forced to create a new movement called the Serbian Chetnik Movement. (The Chetniks were Serbian nationalists who fought against the German invaders, the Croatian collaborators, and Tito's Communists during the war—MAGYAR SZO's editorial note.)

[MAGYAR SZO] You are now the chairman of the Serbian Radical Party.

[Seselj] Yes. We transferred the collective membership of the Chetnik Movement into the Serbian Radical Party, but that is not a fundamental change.

[MAGYAR SZO] What rights would you give to national minorities?

[Seselj] I would give them all the civic and human rights that the most civilized countries recognize and guarantee. These rights should be given to all national minorities living on Serbian soil. Allow me to rectify that: I would only give these rights to those national minorities that acknowledged Serbia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. In practice, this means that only the majority of Albanians would be deprived of these rights because they behave in a rebellious and separatist way.

[MAGYAR SZO] If I have understood that correctly, national minorities should be given the opportunity of setting up their own schools, cultural centers, and press?

[Seselj] Yes, they should be allowed to do everything they want.... Of course, there is one thing we cannot allow them to do: They cannot break away from Serbia's territory. Serbia's borders were determined on an international level, and all this is fundamental—something that the Albanians do not yet understand because they are a primitive and barbarian people, and by the time they understand, I am afraid it will be too late.

[MAGYAR SZO] What is your opinion of Hungarians?

[Seselj] Hungarians are hard-working and disciplined—in one word, they are a civilized people. I want to live with Hungarians in the greatest possible harmony and under the most organized conditions possible. I deeply regret the mistake made by the Hungarian Government when it helped to arm the Ustashas. Naturally, we Serbs will never forget that during World War II, almost immediately after signing a non-aggression treaty with Yugoslavia, Hungary attacked us. Moreover, we must never forget that during the course of history, Hungarians and Serbs have never been able to draw a clear border between the two countries. Indeed, many Hungarians are of Serbian origin, and there are a fair number of Serbs of Hungarian descent.

[MAGYAR SZO] What does being a Chetnik mean to you?

[Seselj] I am not a simple Chetnik, I am Serbia's chief Chetnik. I am extremely proud of this fact.

## Serbian Opposition Adopts 'Disgrace' Statement

*LD1805181991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 18 May 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 18 May (TANJUG)—"Through the appointment of Sejdo Bajramovic as the SFRY Presidency coordinator, i.e. as acting president of the Yugoslav Presidency and the head of the supreme command, representatives of the Communist regime in Serbia and Montenegro humiliated and brought disgrace on the Serbian people and citizens. Although appointed temporarily, the head of the Yugoslav state and its Army is a communist who did not succeed to win more than hundred votes in the December elections for deputies to the Serbian Assembly."

This is stressed in a statement called "Serbian Disgrace" issued today by eight parties of the so-called Serbian United Opposition.

The strongly worded text stresses that, "in front of the world public, an extremely unwise political move was made, which is putting the responsibility for the disintegration of Yugoslavia and all further consequences on Serbia, instead of leaving the responsibility to rest with those who have a long time been dissociating and blackmailing with their secession," the statement says.

The statment was signed by Vuk Draskovic on behalf of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, Dusan Mihajlovic on behalf of the New Democracy [Nova Demokratija], Nikola Milosevic on behalf of the Serbian Liberal Party, Leon Kojen on behalf of the Democratic Forum, Vojislav Kostunica from the Democratic Party, Dragan Veselinov from the People's Peasant Party [Narodna Seljacka Stranka], Dragan Pavlovic on behalf of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia for Serbia, and Janko Ducic on behalf of the National Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka].

### New Serbian Muslim Body Threatens Autonomy

*LD1905145591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 18 May 91*

[Text] Novi Pazar, 19 May (TANJUG)—The main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] for Serbia has announced that if formed the Muslim National Council [Muslimansko Nacionalno Vece—MNV] for the Sandzak [area of Serbia and Montenegro where mainly Muslims live] in Novi Pazar today.

According to the provisions of the declaration adopted today, the MNV will be activated in the event of immediate danger to the Muslim nation, and also in the event of the suspension of the Assembly and the Presidency of Yugoslavia or the declaration of a state of emergency and civil war, as well as on the basis of a special decision.

In other words, this implies the suspension of every other authority other than that making decisions on behalf of the MNV, and the withdrawal of Muslim deputies from the republican assembly. Sulejman Ugljanin, chairman of the SDA for Serbia, was today also elected as chairman of the MNV.

At a news conference, he stated that the MNV includes within it, apart from representatives of the SDA, members of other parties as well as non-party orientated Muslims.

Ugljanin also repeated that a declaration of the Sandzak's autonomy would follow in the wake of the secession of any of the Yugoslav republics, and that in this event a referendum would not be necessary. Lessons from the past and the facing of the fresh danger of the physical annihilation of Muslims are, according to the declaration of the MNV, the main reasons for this decision.

We will not wait until the shooting starts before we save our people, so the formation of units has already begun, Sulejman Uljanin also stated today.

### Muslim Armed Formations 'Unacceptable'

*LD2105180991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Novi Pazar, 21 May (TANJUG)—The council for national defense of the municipal assembly of Novi Pazar today assessed the political-security situation in this region, following the formation of the Muslim National Council [Muslimansko Nacionalno Vece] as very unsatisfactory.

It was concluded that there was no legal basis for the declaration on the founding of the Muslim National Council, or any real reason for it, because Serbia is a state for all citizens.

The claim in the declaration of the Muslim National Council of alleged physical genocide of Muslims in this part of Serbia was described as a pure product of the imagination, and the advice to Muslims not to respond to invitations for mobilization and other activities from the national defense organs as a crude attack on the total system of all-peoples' defense.

The formation of parallel armed formations for the so-called protection of the Muslims is especially unacceptable, it was said, and can have serious consequences for the people of this region.

### Weekly Interviews Ribicic on Secession Issue

*LD2105174391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1306 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Zagreb, May 21 (TANJUG)—Ciril Ribicic, leader of the Party of Democratic Changes, said that this strongest opposition party in the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia is not for unilateral "secession at any cost ... Which should be carried out immediately."

In an interview which is published in the Zagreb weekly DANAS, Ribicic termed such a secession of Slovenia from Yugoslavia as "a disaster". He specified that "independence should be achieved in such a way as not to lead to the break up of economic trends with Yugoslavia, not to lead to international isolation, and not to prevent the establishment of confederal links with Yugoslavia."

Asked about the possibilities of the outbreak of civil war in Yugoslavia, Ribicic said that the Serbian republican authorities are "deliberately straining" the situation in the country.

According to Ribicic, the election of the representative of the Republic of Croatia, Stipe Mesic, as Yugoslav Presidency president is a "pure constitutional-legal formality" and the blockade on the part of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro indicates their intention to "deliberately provoke a conflict."

Ribicic accused the Serbian authorities of leading an "expansionist policy" which will "if it continues... Finally prevent the reaching of any kind of serious institutional cooperation in this area, let alone something more."

"If the Serbian militant policy continues to insist on the thesis "all serbs in one state" which, according to Ribicic, means a Yugoslavia which would be an "expanded Serbia," the final collapse and break up of Yugoslavia will take place, regardless of the high price which its peoples will pay."

### Slovene Leader, Army Delegation Air Issues

*LD2105160691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 May (TANJUG)—Slovene Executive Council President Lojze Peterle today received Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] delegation headed by the commander of the Fifth Military District, Colonel General Konrad Kolsek.

The JNA delegation explained to the Slovene prime minister the stands and obligations stemming from the recently adopted changes to the federal law on military service. At the same time, the JNA delegation informed Peterle that the military authorities have already started to release soldiers whose one-year military service has expired and who were kept in their units as reservists.

Representatives of the Slovene Assembly and Presidency attended the talks. The Slovene side stressed that there is no anti-army mood in Slovenia and that the republican government has already sent proposals on gradual and patient steps toward the resolution of the military issue within the Slovene independence process.

Peterle promised the JNA representatives that the appropriate Slovene bodies will discuss JNA stands on military service and that they will inform the federal bodies about their conclusions in due time.

### Slovenia To Open Diplomatic Missions Abroad

*LD1705221891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1441 GMT 17 May 91*

[Text] Ljubljana, May 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia is to open 19 missions abroad by the end of the year, as the Republican Secretariat for International Cooperation informed the Republican parliament's Commission for International Relations today.

Slovene Secretary for International Cooperation Dimitrij Rupel said that a "soft" and "hard" variants had been prepared. According to the "soft" formula, urged by the secretariat, an agreement is to be reached with the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs that Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions partially perform also duties in the intest of Slovenia. In the event the "soft" variant does not get a green light, Slovenia is to open its own missions, according to the "hard" option.

The parliamentary commission upheld the plan for the opening of Slovenia's missions abroad, but insisted that the personnel be made up of citizens of Slovenia. The commission also upheld a proposal for proceedings to be instituted for the appointment of the head of Slovenia's mission in Washington. A candidate has been proposed for the post, but his name has not been disclosed.

### Albanian Killed by Militia Near Podujevo

*AU1805211791 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2045 GMT 18 May 91*

[Text] Another Albanian was killed today by the Serbian police in the village of Peran in Podujevo Commune. In the view of the militia headquarters in Pristina, a police patrol was attacked with guns at about 1230, and Ragip Hoti from the village of Bradash, born in 1953, was killed in the answering fire. In this clash, the militiamen Predrag Petkovic and Tomislav Stanenkovic were also wounded and were sent to the Surgical Clinic in Pristina.

Our reporter who talked with several witnesses, reports that a minibus traveling from Podujevo to Kerpimeh, driven by Xhafer Citaku, was stopped in Peran by a police patrol, which checked all the passengers' identity cards. The police began to use force against the enraged passengers. Ragip Hoti, who was apparently under Serbian police surveillance, reacted most strongly to the violence of the police, and was killed by the bullets of their automatic rifles. The passengers in the minibus were sent to the headquarters of the special militia unit in Podujevo. The consequences of this conflict are still unknown, but it is supposed that other people were wounded. Ragip Hoti is the second victim of Serbian police terror in the last five days in Kosovo.

The Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms has commented on today's clash in the village of Peran, stating that it is a continuation of the repression of the Albanians. The Council's declaration states that the terror of the Serbian militia, after the murder of Mentor Tolaj and Ragip Hoti, is continuing with additional intensity, and it asks the Yugoslav and the world public to take measures to protect the peace-loving Albanian people. Today's massacre near Podujevo has also been condemned by the Kosovo Democratic Alliance's branch in the town and the Albanian Christian Democratic Party.

### Crowd of 40,000 Attend Funeral

*AU2105161191 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2045 GMT 20 May 91*

[Text] Ragip Hoti, who was killed by the Serbian militia last Saturday [17 May], was buried in Bradash near Podujevo today. More than 40,000 people from all Albanian-inhabited areas attended the funeral. Not even the incessant rain prevented citizens from Macedonia,

Montenegro, and all parts of the Republic of Kosovo from gathering to pay their respects to this martyr for freedom. Ragip Hoti was the 96th victim in Kosovo, and the 10th in Llap. The current Serbian state is waging the most savage terror against the Albanian people, attempting to spiritually and physically destroy them, bring them to their knees, and force them to flee their lands. However, those who spoke at the funeral said that all these plans will fail. Ragip Hoti's funeral took place without incident. Let us add that, as a sign of honor and respect for this martyr for freedom, all privately-owned Albanian stores in Podujevo and other places in this area closed for the day.

### Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Faces Split

*AU2005090591 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 91 p 7*

[M.A. report: "The Biggest Branch Has Left"]

[Text] Pristina—Only a couple of days after the first assembly of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the circles close to the party claim that the party is experiencing first major disagreements. One of the bigger branches of this party, the Suncani Breg branch in Pristina, whose head is Ali Alidemaj, has separated itself from the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo.

At the same time Alidemaj has founded a new party called "Uniteti Kombetar" shortened to "Uniku," which means a party of national unity.

This news emerged only a couple of hours after the news conference of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo at which Rugova spoke in superlatives about the results of the first assembly and unity achieved in it. It was even obvious at the assembly itself that one wing of the party does not agree with Rugova's peaceful resistance. There were also those who criticized the content of the political declaration. One of those was Alidemaj who said that he had some objections to it, but since it had already been distributed to the journalists and, as I was told, cannot be altered, he did not want to say what his objections were. He only said that "the time is to move from words to deeds."

Let us recall, Ali Alidemaj was a member of a group of "intellectuals" who was sentenced for counterrevolutionary activities in 1982. At the conference of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo some deputies raised objections to the fact that among those proposed for the top leadership there were too many former convicts. These objections fell on deaf ears even though it was obvious that it was in fact those people that were advocating a change in the course of the struggle, that is, a more active resistance.

What this will mean for the most numerous political party of Albanians in Kosovo remains to be seen.

### First Census Results Issued in Macedonia

*LD2105224191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 21 May 91*

[Text] Skopje, 21 May (TANJUG)—According to initial population census results there are 2,033,964 inhabitants in Macedonia. This information was arrived at on the basis of the data processed so far and revealed during the news conference today in the [Macedonian] republican Institute of Statistics in Skopje. One million 610,000 inhabitants took part in the census, while 423,000 or about 20 percent of the inhabitants of the republic were not included, mostly as a result of the boycott of the census by a section of Macedonian population who are Albanian nationals.

As Svetlana Andonovska, the Director of the Institute of Statistics, stressed, the institute is ready, should the need arise, to repeat the census exercise in the western part of Macedonia where by and large most Albanians live.

Andonovska made the assessment that the claims by the Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity and by the National Democratic Party that about 1 million Albanians live in that Republic as lacking valid argument and representing no more than a blanket evaluation.